

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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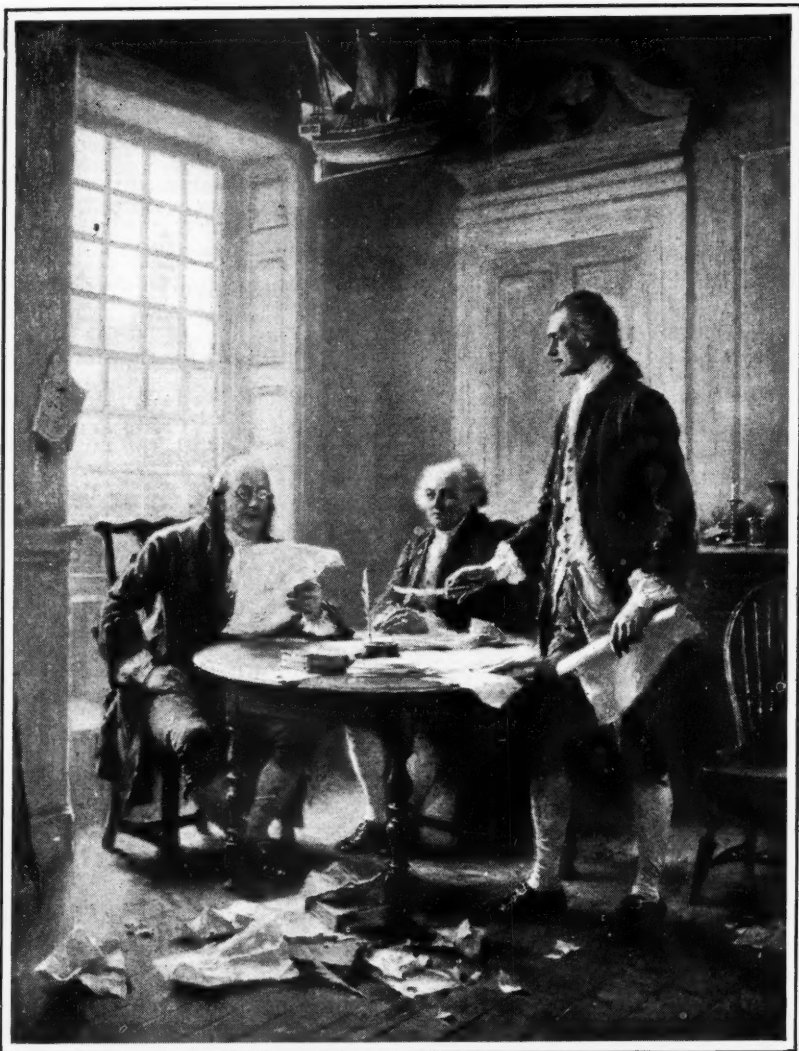
TERMS:—Issued monthly, 35 cents a number, \$4.00 a year in advance in the United States and Canada. Elsewhere \$5.00. Entered at New York Post Office as second-class matter. Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office Department, Ottawa, Canada. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters is sent at sender's risk. Renew as early as possible in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters and Newsdealers receive subscriptions

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CORPORATION, 55 Fifth Avenue, New York

Publishers of THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS and THE GOLDEN BOOK MAGAZINE

ALBERT SHAW, Pres. CHAS. D. LANIER, Sec. and Treas.

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**FRANKLIN, ADAMS, AND JEFFERSON DISCUSSING THE DRAFT OF
THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE**

(The Continental Congress had appointed a committee of five members, with Thomas Jefferson of Virginia as chairman, to draft the Declaration that was later adopted on July 4. Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania is shown here reading the document, with John Adams of Massachusetts seated and Jefferson standing. Of these three men, Adams and Jefferson lived for exactly fifty years after the signing—dying on the same day, July 4, 1826. The other two members of the committee were Roger Sherman of Connecticut and Robert Livingston of New York. This painting is the work of J. L. G. Ferris and hangs in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. It is reproduced here from "The Pageant of America"—see page 556)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LXXIII.

NEW YORK, MAY, 1926

No. 5

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Full-Fledged
Americans
150 Years Ago*

We have now had three centuries of experience since the conquest and first settlement by European people of the wilderness continents of this Western Hemisphere. During the first half of that time, colonists were gradually becoming Americans. Newcomers continued to arrive at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and the Southern Atlantic ports in the small sailing ships of the eighteenth century; but most of the Americans who took part in the struggle to achieve Independence a hundred and fifty years ago had never seen Europe, and neither had their parents or their grandparents. It is well within bounds to say that New York and Boston were decidedly more American in their population in 1776 than they are to-day, although this may not be quite so true of Philadelphia, which is more American than the others to-day, but which at that time had a good many Germans of recent arrival.

*Independence
a Natural
Development*

While the Revolutionary War found its occasion in the shortsighted and selfish colonial policies of Great Britain, it is a mistake to conceive of American Independence as an unfortunate thing, that happened by reason of ill-timed and mistaken methods in the management of the British Empire, and that separated brethren who ought to have remained politically united. The colonies of people who for six generations had been struggling to overcome the hard conditions of pioneer life in America had, in point of fact, become distinct social, economic, and political entities, greatly different from those of Europe. Just as in England, France and Germany the prevailing institutions had survived from mediæval and

feudal conditions, even so in America the experiences of life had produced their own institutions, wholly unlike those of Europe. Equality of rights and of opportunities was inherent in the very nature of the American struggle to live successfully in a new country; and Americans had been evolved as a new kind of emancipated human product. Little of the "Colonial" was left.

*Visions of
the
Founders*

It should, therefore, be remembered that the one hundred and fifty years of Independence that are about to be completed, and that call for celebration, rest upon the solid foundation of the toil and sacrifice of the previous Colonial period. The early immigrants had set up their self-governing local communities, had created provincial commonwealths that were to survive as States, and had learned enough of coöperation with one another to have formed—by reason of one experience after another—the larger structure of Federal Government. The statesmen of the Revolutionary period had broad visions, and they fully realized the differences between the American system they were creating and that of Europe. They predicted the far westward extension of the system of federated commonwealths. They also believed that in due time the influence of our successful experiment in democracy and in representative government would have a transforming effect upon political institutions everywhere else.

*Taking our
Historical
Bearings*

It is always worth while to take historical bearings when we find ourselves more or less confused in the turmoil of things about us. We have passed through some painful tribulations, the worst of which was the Civil



THE CITY HALL OF PHILADELPHIA, AN ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENT OF THE CENTENNIAL PERIOD

(What are known officially in Philadelphia as the "public buildings" comprise an immense structure covering four and a half acres and occupy a public square that William Penn laid out as the central feature of his new city. It remains the most conspicuous object in Philadelphia, though it lacks the beauty and distinction of an earlier architectural period and is in no respect what our present-day architects would have designed. It is now surrounded by great office buildings which are not shown in the photograph that is here reproduced)

War. We shall not escape times of trial and perplexity in the next fifty years, and it would be hardly worth while to speculate upon what may happen before the Declaration of Independence has reached its three hundredth anniversary. But there is much to be cheerful about, and the younger generation may well be hopeful. The influence of the United States after this republic had fairly achieved its independence was widely felt. It played its part in the reconstruction of French institutions. It fired the imaginations of the patriots of Spanish America, in the struggles that won independence for the republics that now stretch from the Rio Grande to the Straits of Magellan. It has always affected the British people in the gradual liberalizing of their institutions. It has set the major example for such great federated republics

as the Dominion of Canada, the Australian Commonwealth, and the Union of South Africa. In this issue of the REVIEW will be found a glowing tribute to the world-wide influence of the United States from the pen of Mr. Philip Whitwell Wilson, who, as a British publicist now resident in New York, is able to see our place in the world from a fairly detached standpoint.

Philadelphia, the Season's Mecca In recent numbers of this periodical we have most frankly urged

our readers to acquaint themselves with the splendid new developments of California and the Pacific Coast, and with the progressive and admirable civilization that has been established in the corn belt and in the states of the upper Mississippi Valley. Also, we have been fortunate in finding writers who could do some justice to the resources and prospects of the South, as well as to the belated but irresistible utilization of Florida for its endowments of winter climate and its availability for specialized agriculture. Now, as the summer approaches, it seems to us an appropriate thing in logical sequence to urge the country as a whole to give some special thought to our older communities of the Atlantic seaboard, in view particularly of this sesqui-centennial anniversary.

Philadelphia fifty years ago celebrated the Centennial, an event that had a profound effect upon the country in many ways. Philadelphia again becomes the central point as we celebrate another half century. There is to be an Exposition, about which we are publishing an article in this number. It is not to be so bewilderingly extensive as some other World Fairs have been, but it will be well worth visiting for its convenient display of many things that illustrate America's progress and that of the world. We are glad to publish a charming article from the pen of a distinguished Philadelphian, Mr. Harrison S. Morris, who tells us of the Philadelphia of Revolutionary times, of the city that millions of visitors saw half a century ago, and of the new and expanding Philadelphia that ought to be included in the travel plans this summer

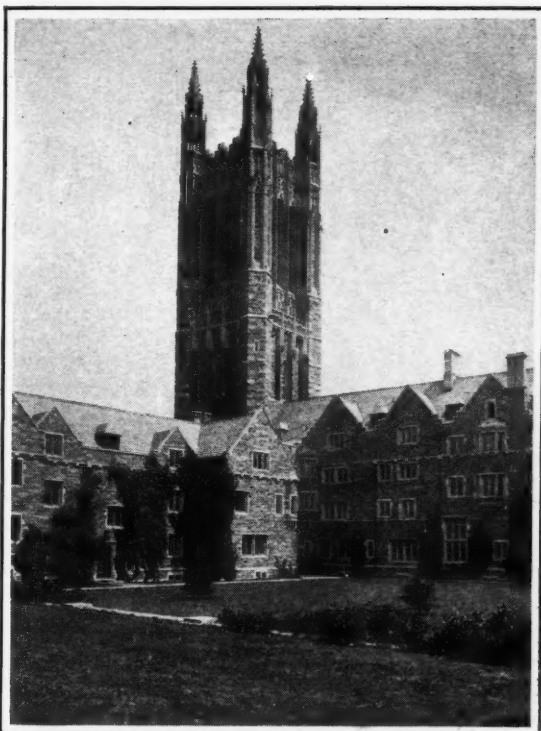
of millions belonging to a later generation, and of many sturdy survivors from the earlier one.

*What Touring
Americans
May See*

The railroads should do their best to bring visitors from the West and the South, during the coming six months, to Philadelphia, Washington and Baltimore, New York and Boston, and to the upland and seashore resorts of the older States. Moreover, all the conditions will be especially inviting for those who may be impelled to travel by automobile. We are publishing in this number certain articles and maps intended for the encouragement of what we may call "historical pilgrimages." There is wonderful beauty in the environs of Philadelphia; and Dr. S. C. Mitchell of Richmond shows the reader how easy, pleasant, and instructive it would be to motor across Delaware and Maryland to Washington, and then to see Mount Vernon, Richmond, Williamsburg, Yorktown, Charlottesville and other places in historic Virginia. Dr. John Cotton Dana, from his post of authority in the famous Newark Library, invites the visitor to inspect memorable places that recall history in the State of New Jersey, as one tours from Philadelphia to New York. As for the metropolis at the mouth of the Hudson, it is always—twelve months in the year—a place that is on show, and eager to entertain visitors. This year, Philadelphia will be the favorite meeting place of conventions and societies; but New York, with a hundred attractions, will draw its quota of visitors without any concerted effort.

*The Higher
Concerns of
New York*

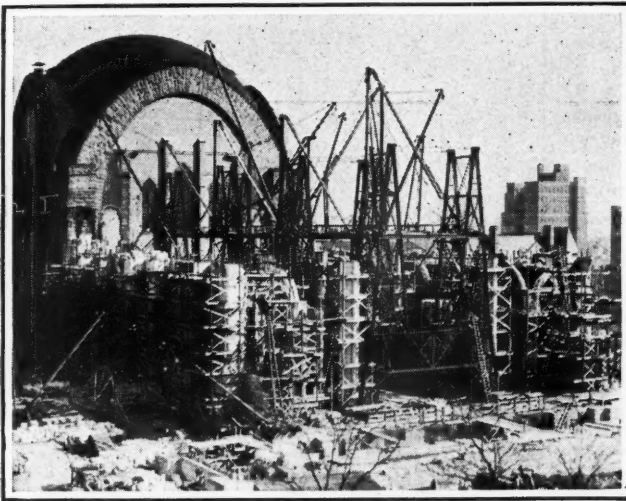
During April there were various meetings and entertainments in New York to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of the city. Some of these were on the so-called Morningside Heights, where Columbia University and its related institutions have erected an amazing series of educational buildings, and where many thousands of students will attend summer sessions. Here is now rapidly rising the nave of the great Cathedral of St. John



THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL TOWER AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY FROM WITHIN THE QUADRANGLE OF THE GRADUATE COLLEGE

(Elsewhere in this number is a striking picture of Nassau Hall—now Princeton University—as it appeared before the American Revolution. Nassau Hall still stands, with many new buildings clustered about it, and the Princeton of to-day is the most notable achievement in public architecture that the historical pilgrim can find anywhere as he journeys from Philadelphia to New York)

the Divine; and here also is soon to be built the monumental church in which Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick is to preach to a congregation that is migrating from Fifth Avenue, and that will soon be augmented by many hundreds of students. President Nicholas Murray Butler, in an address on the tercentennial of New York City, justly referred to Columbia (which was King's College during the Colonial period) as having from the beginning dominated the life of a city that has always, despite its faults, responded to intellectual and moral leadership. New York University and various other schools and institutions are to-day doing their full share in the educational training of a population which also enjoys the most extensive and costly public-school system by far of any city in the world. The museums and the libraries of New York are developing upon magnifi-



THE VAST NAVE OF THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN, THE DIVINE, NOW UNDER CONSTRUCTION

(It seems only a short time since the cornerstone of the Cathedral nave was set in place with due ceremonies. The vast structure is rising rapidly, and now adds one more to the edifices that make Morningside Heights an educational and religious center typifying the higher interests of the metropolis)

cent lines, and thus the visitor who cares for institutions that minister to the higher life will not find New York a place lacking in such things.

*An Orderly
and Cheerful
Metropolis*

If those prospective visitors who are as yet unacquainted with New York and our great eastern cities have formed their advance impressions chiefly from newspaper reading, they may indeed feel some timidity about the adventures that lie before them. During April, the newspapers of New York that are best known for conservatism and dignity went to the very limit in publishing almost every day on their front pages immense headlines that were well calculated to cause distant readers to think that the metropolis had been plunged into a chaos of vice, crime, and uncontrollable disorder by reason of prohibition as provocative of everything evil. As a simple matter of fact, New York is the most orderly, the best behaved, the most prosperous and the most cheerfully contented of all the great cities that exist to-day, or about which anything is taught us by the records of the past. There have been many crimes of violence, more or less associated with attempts to rob and steal. These offences are committed almost altogether by young foreigners. They are incidental to the settling down of new

population elements. Also, they are still more largely due to the fact that our lawmakers and our courts do not face the present situation.

*Crimes
and
Remedies*

In the early social conditions of the Far West, the horse thief and the robber could not be tolerated, and they were dealt with by summary methods which were wholly proper. Circumstances being different to-day, it is not necessary in the West to suppress horse thieves and robbers through Vigilance Committees. In view of the new population elements in New York City, gunmen and professional robbers and burglars should

be permanently segregated as rapidly as they are caught. No robbers or "gunmen," once in custody, should be turned loose to continue their careers of crime. But in fact the ordinary visitor, coming to New York, like the average citizen already living there, sees nothing but peace and order, and knows nothing about criminals, bootleggers, night clubs, drunkenness and vice except what the newspapers are at such infinite pains to inflict upon him. The infuriated wets, lashing themselves to frenzy like the whirling and howling dervishes that are exhibited to American tourists in Egypt, have undoubtedly made themselves believe that our great cities are drinking themselves to depravity and death. They suppose that drugged and poisoned intoxicants are sold everywhere, at profits totalling billions of dollars, all because of prohibition.

*What One
Might
Expect*

But the ordinary law-abiding citizen, coming to New York, may enter a hundred or a thousand hotels and restaurants to-day and see nothing at all that looks like traffic in alcoholic liquors. A dozen years ago he would have found thousands of saloons and bar-rooms doing a flourishing business in an open and conspicuous way; but he will find nothing of that sort at the present time.

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We are referring, of course, to the visitor who goes about his own business, and is neither consorting with law-breakers nor seeking to play the rôle of an amateur detective. Alcohol, in one respect, is not in the least like coffee or tea or tobacco. These three things are distinct products of the soil. Tea and coffee are imported, and tobacco is a crop that is produced on a large scale only in particular localities. But alcohol is a chemical substance that can be made anywhere by anybody, from a great variety of fruits, grains, vegetables, and so on. A long experience with attempts to regulate or suppress the public traffic in alcoholic drinks had shown everyone who was intelligent on the subject that prohibition must be followed by an increased amount of home distilling, wine-making, and brewing, and by much illegal traffic. A part of this illicit traffic assumes dimensions which make it feasible to suppress it by law enforcement. For the rest, it is not feasible to deal with it by inquisitorial methods, and we may be quite sure that people will continue to be their own judges in matters of private conduct.



HON. W. FREELAND KENDRICK, MAYOR OF PHILADELPHIA WHO IS ALSO PRESIDENT OF THE SESQUI-CENTENNIAL INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

In his capacity as head of the municipality and as president of the exposition, Mayor Kendrick will be one of the busiest and most conspicuous public men of America during the greater part of the present year. Among other things, he will welcome to Philadelphia 200 or more conventions and congresses of societies and organizations of all kinds that have arranged to assemble in that city some time this year.

*Prohibition
in Politics
of 1926*

The first regular session of each new Congress is self-limiting as to its duration. That is to say, the present session, which is the opening one of the Sixty-ninth Congress, might be prolonged from the first Monday of December, 1925, through a full twelve-month. The second and final regular session, according to the Constitution, must begin on the first Monday of next December, and will have to end on the fourth of March, 1927. Congressional elections occur on Tuesday, November 2, of this year. These are routine and obvious dates that politicians and newspaper editors must keep in mind. The average citizen, however, has to be reminded of them occasionally, in order that he may grasp the importance of their bearing upon certain other things that are demanding his attention. For example, they have a direct bearing upon this raging and roaring debate on Prohibition that has, as we have shown, secured the boldest head-

*"Solutions"
Have No
Finality* These are distinctions that it is well to keep in mind. It is also desirable above all things to remember that no absolute principles of right and wrong are involved in such things as laws prohibiting the liquor traffic. Everybody has a right to change his opinion, in view of what he learns from experience. In these remarks we are merely trying to make the point that New York City is a remarkably well-ordered place to-day, when compared with its past, and when compared with other large towns. There will never be a time when people do not encounter problems in the management of their private affairs, nor will there come a period when public questions can be regarded as settled so perfectly as not to obtrude themselves again. Some of the prohibitionists, doubtless, were at fault in supposing that when they had put the Eighteenth Amendment into the Constitution and enacted the Volstead law they had reached the end of their century-long fight against the "Demon Rum," and had little else to do but bask in the sunlight of their victory. Their fight must go on; but they will be justified in trying to hold their ground until their opponents have some wise and consistent proposals to make.

lines on front pages during a considerable part of the month of April. We are beginning a political season, and prohibition if being made a political issue.

*Congress
Will Adjourn
Promptly*

Instead of prolonging the present session, the leaders of both parties in Congress have decided to make it shorter than usual. They hope to finish the session about June 1, although the Senate will be kept longer on account of the impeachment trial of Judge English. The non-partisan spirit that was shown in handling the tax bill and the world-court bill has also resulted in the elimination of so-called "pork" bills, and has lessened the resort to filibustering, so that the handling of appropriation measures has become expeditious when compared with pre-budget methods. The House of Representatives is naturally anxious to adjourn early, because most of the members are candidates for reelection, and many of them have yet to run the ordeal of the nominating machinery in their local districts. State-wide elections are also to be held this fall for one-third of the seats in the United States Senate. Rivalries for the favor of the voters in Senatorial primaries have been very keenly pressed in several States. The dates to which we have alluded have therefore a most direct practical bearing upon political issues; and the opponents of prohibition, seeking to achieve their ends through political agitation, have been making a concerted effort to impress the public mind, and thus to influence the primaries and elections of 1926.

*The Wets
Fulminate
Without Plans*

When one comes to analyze the alleged "offensive" that the Wets have entered upon, really seeking to know what is substantial and definite behind all the noise and fury, one is likely to discover nothing very tangible. Exasperation may produce explosive language, without providing a plan of campaign. The leaders of the wet movement—in so far as any leadership has been revealed—have been more or less alike in the bitterness and extravagance of their verbiage; but they have had little else in common. It is to be strongly suspected that some of the most widely quoted of the orators that this movement keeps before the public are in total ignorance of the real powers of wet finance and wet politics behind the scenes. There are men of high

character and well-earned distinction, who have the gift of speech and who are representing (as they believe) a discriminating and thoughtful element of public opinion, when they denounce prohibition. They are not by any means to be confounded with the interests that are in the background of the general attack upon prohibition. As regards the pillars of society at large, prohibition is much more strongly supported to-day than when it was adopted.

*Prohibition
may be Wrong
but it is a Fact*

It is true that the enforcement of the prohibitory laws falls short of success, although, relatively speaking, we are more successful with our suppression of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor under the eighteenth amendment than we are with our enforcement of penal statutes against highway robbery and murder. Chicago and New York apparently are partial to bandits, "gunmen," and burglars, because these criminals have been more rampant of late in these two large cities than anywhere else in the world, and because such crimes could be so easily suppressed if some simple and obvious methods were used to eliminate them. Where prohibition is not well enforced, the fault must be either in the sentiment of communities or in the failure to provide reasonably efficient methods for making the law respected. In New York the lack is one of enforcement machinery. Even with so bad an enforcement system, and no proper State coöperation, the results of prohibition in New York have been amazing in their transformation of the metropolis. The chief hope of the wets is to break down the law by constantly asserting that it is a total failure. It may be wrong *per se*, as its logical opponents declare; but it is not a farce so far as its workings go.

*Is there
a Compromise
Zone?*

The most essential thing, of course, is to find out what people really want. The hopeless weakness of the wets lies in their unwillingness to face the facts thoroughly. They wander off in all sorts of random directions, whenever they are asked what practical course they would have us pursue. Everybody knows that at least half a dozen of our largest cities, with adjacent regions that come under their influence, were opposed to the eighteenth amendment at the start, and have never responded happily

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to the enforcement of the Volstead act. But they do not control America at large. We have forty-eight States in this Federal Union, and it is by no means clear that the majority of the citizens who inhabit these commonwealths wish to restore the liquor traffic to its former legal position. The wets seem to think there is a compromise zone to be occupied, lying somewhere between the total wetness of the old rum traffickers and the bone-dry areas of the unirrigated West and South. When the amendment was adopted in Congress and submitted to the States for their ratification, many of us were under no delusion as to the difficulties that national prohibition would encounter. We pointed out in these pages that constitutions could not be changed overnight, and that if the proposed amendment were adopted the people of the country must be prepared to accept it in good faith for a period of at least ten years. We showed that prohibition meant something extreme, and could not be modified.

Assaults That Do Not Weaken As a war measure, prohibition had seemed to be quite efficient and highly beneficial. The prohibitionists were perhaps unduly optimistic in pushing their constitutional amendment through the requisite number of legislatures. They evidently felt too much confidence in the post-war disposition of the public to obey regulations so drastic as those of the Volstead act. But if, indeed, prohibition in the United States is a failure, and if it is facing its doom, its downfall must be retarded rather than expedited by the methods that the present wet leaders are employing. They declare that enforcement is a total farce and failure, while President Coolidge and Secretary Mellon say that enforcement is a very considerable success and is steadily improving. It is obvious that if the wets were sufficiently law-abiding to join the dries in a reasonable attempt to see that actual statutes are enforced all along the line, they would be in a far better position to influence the country when some different system of liquor control may be proposed after due deliberation. At present, the wets are fortifying the cause of prohibition by the sheer foolishness of their denunciations, and by the evidence they give of their failure to have thought out any sort of convincing program.

Shifts and Evasions The people of the United States are honest, and they are clear-headed. They know that whisky is whisky and that beer is beer. The prohibition movement was more than half a century old before the eighteenth amendment was adopted. Everybody knew that it was one thing or the other. State-wide prohibition had been adopted in more than half of the States. In every one of those States the prohibition of intoxicating beverages meant something drastic as regards the alcoholic content of drinks. We have now one set of spokesmen for the wets who propose that Congress should repeal the Volstead act while leaving the eighteenth amendment untouched. We have others who suggest various kinds of referendum on legislative details. There are others, some of them men of standing, who declare that Congress should so modify the Volstead Act as to leave it to each one of the forty-eight States to decide for itself how much alcohol should be allowed in beverages sold as wine and beer. We have others still who take the ground that so-called "light wines and beer" could be made lawful without restriction as to alcoholic contents, while keeping the ban upon whisky, brandy, rum, gin and the more intoxicating distilled beverages.

Congress Likely to Remain Dry There are others who proclaim very loudly their eternal opposition to the saloon system that has been abolished and their devotion to a plan for manufacturing and selling liquor as a governmental monopoly as now carried on in Sweden and recently adopted in the Province of Quebec. Our readers may well be reminded that the dispensary system seemed to work well at one time in South Carolina and then lost public confidence. To allow each State to fix the percentage of alcohol contained in beverages would create endless confusion. It would make law enforcement much more difficult, and it would suit neither the wets nor the dries. In making these remarks we are not arguing either for or against prohibition, but are trying to show that the present outburst of the wets is not sufficiently coherent to bring about a change in the national policy. A great majority of the members of the present Congress come from States and districts that have not shifted their positions on the drink question; and it is by no means probable that the Seventieth Congress,

which will be elected in November of this year, will show much if any increase of numbers in the wet minorities. In short, a wet Congress is not in sight.

*Governor Smith
and the Con-
test of 1928*

The politicians are looking ahead to the presidential election of 1928. In the legislature at Albany, a State liquor enforcement bill had been pending, and it ought in all decency to have become law. Governor Al Smith would have been put in a position where, as a wet leader, he could have vetoed it, and thus have continued to keep New York in its present position of failing to do its proper share in the enforcement of the nation's laws. It would seem that there is a certain bi-partisan understanding among the political leaders in New York. But just how this will effect Governor Smith's political ambitions or Senator Wadsworth's candidacy for reelection is not yet entirely clear. Outside of the metropolis, New York is not definitely wet. However, Governor Smith's position as a wet is now so far beyond retreat or compromise that the Democrats of the West and South who believe in prohibition can not consistently support him as their presidential candidate. Governor Smith has been instrumental in preventing the State of New York from giving its proper share of assistance to the suppression of bootlegging.

*Floods of
Talk at
Washington*

It is not easy to ascertain whether the hearings before a sub-committee made up of members of the Senate Judiciary Committee have had any influence upon the country. A certain number of days had been allotted to each side. The wets, having had their innings during the previous week, the dries were at the front as the hearings were continued after the 15th of April. Mr. Buckner, the United States District-Attorney at New York who is in charge of prohibition enforcement as one detail of the business of his office, had given the committee some valuable facts, all of them supporting the contention that the law might be fairly well enforced, even in so hostile a place as New York City, if suitable enforcement machinery were provided. The real question properly before the country has nothing to do with the determination of how much alcohol can be allowed in non-intoxicating beverages, but rather whether we are willing to put in the hands of General

Andrews at Washington, Mr. Buckner at New York, and enforcement officers elsewhere, the kind of legal machinery and the amount of financial support necessary to give prohibition a fair test.

*The
Point of
View*

Meanwhile, it is well to understand that national prohibition in this country is a legal fact to-day, and that we shall have to live with it until we change the constitution. The various evasions that have been advocated by opponents of the law will not make much impression upon the country. It is exceedingly far fetched to talk about the Quebec system, when everyone knows that it could not be adopted until the eighteenth amendment had been repealed. Fundamentally, the issue is between those who believe in the regular use of alcoholic stimulants as a general and customary beverage, and those who think that such use is a great evil, wholly incompatible with the conditions of life now prevalent. As a rule, men and women who have important and responsible work to do have learned to avoid alcoholic stimulants. Great classes of employees, like those operating transportation systems, are obliged to abstain. It would be quite as intolerable to permit the drivers of taxicabs and automobile busses to use alcoholic stimulants as to permit drinking on the part of railway engineers and trainmen. The habitual use of alcoholic stimulants does not belong to the complexities of American life in the twentieth century, and it was never suited to our climatic conditions.

*Laws,
and Social
Habits*

It would seem to have become necessary to standardize certain social customs and achievements by making laws to bring exceptional individuals into conformity with the views of the community. In due time we would perhaps have eliminated the use of alcoholic beverages almost entirely, without making regulatory laws. We have perhaps gone too far and fast in such matters of legislation. One thing is certain, namely, that we shall not be able to uphold prohibition in the long run unless we succeed in training a generation of willing abstainers. Admitting that immense quantities of illicit stuff are made and distributed surreptitiously, the regular use of alcoholic drinks has been vastly curtailed, even in our large cities. Americans of the coming generation,

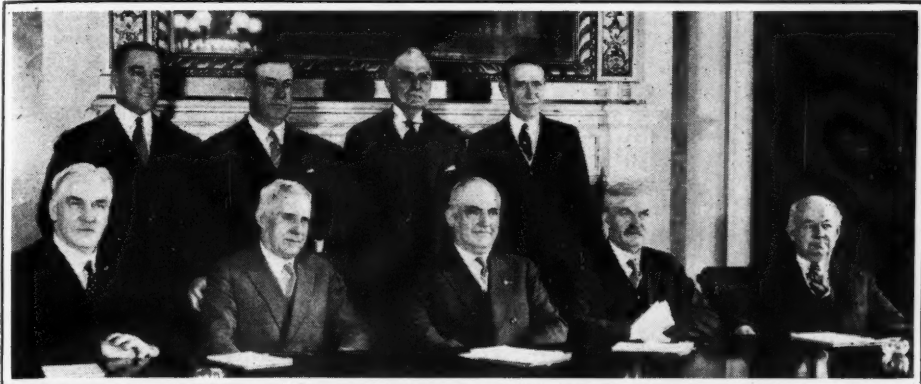
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THE SENATE COMMITTEE OPENING THE FAMOUS WET AND DRY HEARINGS AT WASHINGTON LAST MONTH

(In response to the agitation of the wets against the Volstead act, hearings were authorized before a subcommittee of the Senate to run through two weeks of April. The committee of five, seated, left to right, are: Senators Harrel, of Oklahoma, Reed of Missouri, Means of Colorado [chairman], Walsh of Montana, and Goff of West Virginia. The four men standing are the most prominent spokesmen for the wets. At the left is Representative Hill of Maryland; next is Senator Edge of New Jersey; then Senator Bruce of Maryland and Senator Edwards of New Jersey)

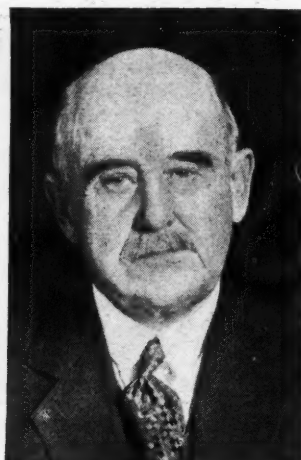
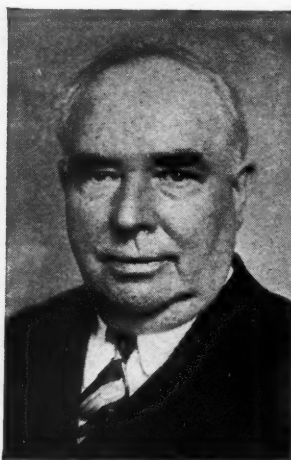
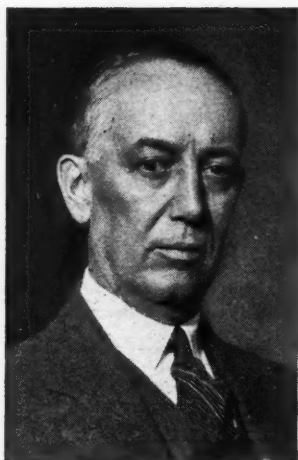
will be better off if they shall have learned to do without relying upon alcoholic stimulation. There is great improvement in our health status as a nation, and either by means of prohibition or otherwise we may confidently look forward to an America that repudiates alcoholic intoxication.

*Popular
Elections
for Senate*

Changes in our method of electing United States Senators have doubtless had certain results that the politicians had not foreseen. It was in May, 1912, that the Sixty-second Congress submitted to the States the proposal that Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people. The legislatures of three-fourths of the States ratified this proposal promptly, and a year later it was declared that the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution had been duly ratified. Some of the older Senators, whose seats are to be filled by popular election in their respective States on November 2 of this year, have lived through two full terms under the new system. They can judge whether or not the ordeal of popular election has had any effect, one way or the other, upon the dimensions of senatorial timber. Not only have Senators, like Governors, to submit to State-wide decision at the polls, but they have also to deal with a new kind of nominating machinery. In former days, Senators were chosen by the legislatures, and their nomination was subject to party caucuses of the legislative bodies, although not infrequently

*Influence of
Primaries and
Women Voters*

In nearly all of the States, nowadays, some form of primary election is prescribed, this being officially supervised. Candidates have to submit themselves for the approval of their own fellow partisans before they enter upon the electoral campaign. In many instances the candidates dislike the primary ordeal much more than the subsequent contest between opposing parties. We may evolve a better kind of representative system in the future; but as for the present it can only be said that there is nothing to prevent the selection of the best available men except reluctance to seek office on the one hand, and the disinclination of the public to make wise choices on the other hand. It is quite too soon to declare that the popular election of Senators has hurt the quality of the senatorial body. Neither can we as yet determine whether the influence of women voters has affected in any marked way the choice of Senators. We are inclined to think that both primaries and women's voting will be found beneficial in the long run, as regards the qualifications of office-holders, including members of the upper chamber.



SENATOR MCKINLEY OF ILLINOIS, WITH THE TWO RIVALS FOR HIS SEAT

(Hon. Frank L. Smith [left] defeated Senator McKinley [right] by a large majority in the Republican primaries, while George Brennan of Chicago [center] won the Democratic nomination for the Senate. One or the other of these two men, therefore, will succeed Mr. McKinley, who has been a valuable Senator after a long and useful service in the House.)

*Improvement
in State
Governments*

It should be remembered that senatorial elections, prior to the adoption of the Seventeenth Amendment, often absorbed much of the working time of our State legislatures. There was a tendency to elect the legislatures with reference to party strength in view of pending or prospective senatorial contests. Getting rid of these struggles in the legislatures has had a marked effect upon the improvement of State government. As a rule, the Governors of our States in recent years have been men of exceptional ability, devoted to the interests of their States and capable of a leadership that has found response in the legislatures and that has made it possible to weaken, if not wholly to repel, the control of party bosses and machines in State affairs. Everywhere we are realizing the importance of our State governments, and are trying to improve their efficiency and to lift them above servitude to the exigencies of national politics. With increasing population and higher standards of civilization, it becomes necessary to insist upon intelligence and efficiency in State law-making and administration. Thus it has been decidedly advantageous to the States themselves to have the legislatures no longer diverted from their proper work by having to choose United States Senators as their most conspicuous responsibility. What is good for the State legislatures will also prove in the end not to have been a bad thing as regards the quality of the upper chamber at Washington.

*The Illinois
Primaries*

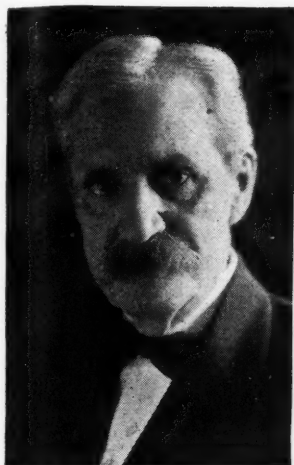
The earliest of the primary elections this year was that held in South Dakota on March 23, this resulting in the renomination of Senator Norbeck as a Republican. Under the circumstances, the nomination may be regarded as virtually equivalent to an election. This contest was followed by one that had attracted an extraordinary amount of attention, resulting in defeat of Senator William B. McKinley of Illinois, who was seeking renomination and whose chances were affected by the fact that he had voted for the adherence of the United States to the world court. This had led Senator Borah and several other Senators of like opinions to take an active part in the attempt to defeat Senator McKinley in the primaries of his own State. Chicago newspapers of wide circulation had incessantly taught their readers that the world court was a part of the League of Nations, and that we ought to keep out of it. This Illinois primary contest occurred on April 13. State offices were at stake and also the choice of candidates for all the seats in the House of Representatives at Washington. But national attention was concentrated upon the effort to defeat Senator McKinley and to nominate in his place Col. Frank L. Smith. The victor has held the State office of chairman of the commission that regulates public utilities, and he is also chairman of the Republican State committee of Illinois. Some years ago he served a term in Congress.

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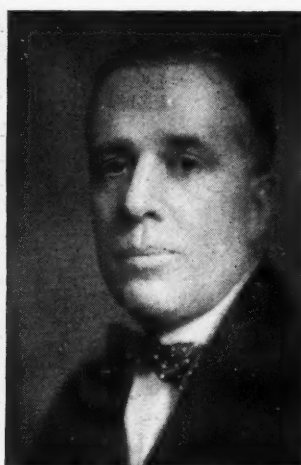
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SENATORS CUMMINS AND STECK OF IOWA, WITH FORMER SENATOR BROOKHART

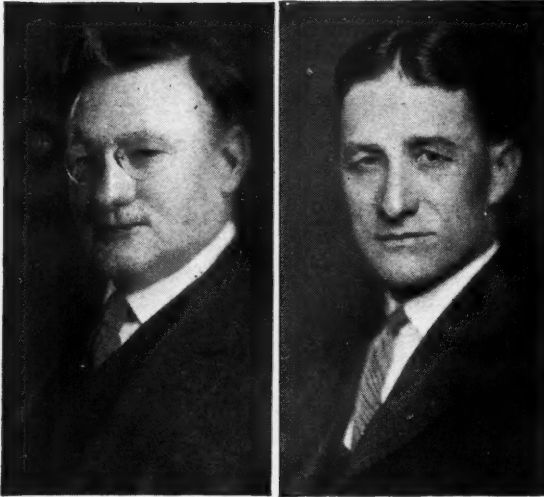
(Following the Senate vote in the contest of Steck vs. Brookhart, Hon. Daniel F. Steck [center] was immediately sworn into the office that Hon. Smith W. Brookhart had held for several years. Mr. Brookhart [right] now enters the primaries against Senator Cummins, whose seat is to be filled in the November election)

Brennan and the Liquor Issue

Much excitement was aroused throughout the State, and especially in the city of Chicago, where rival party factions were fighting for control, with very little regard for world courts or such matters except as these groups of local politicians could gain something by playing upon the prejudices of the ignorant. The effect of agitating the prohibition question in Illinois has been to drive the fanatical wets almost entirely into the Democratic camp. The Illinois division of the "National Association Opposed to Prohibition" gave a blanket endorsement to all Democratic candidates for Congress and to all Democratic candidates for the legislature, on the ground that they were without exception committed to the breakdown of the prohibition régime. The Democratic boss in Illinois, Mr. George Brennan, who held his cohorts together so firmly in support of Governor Al Smith at Madison Square Garden in 1924, had now entered the Democratic primaries as the most aggressive and ostentatious leader of the Illinois wets, and therefore entitled to seek a place in the United States Senate. Mr. Brennan's rivals were James T. McDermott and James O. Monroe. Mr. McDermott is a former Congressman. The result was a sweeping victory for Mr. Brennan, who had several times as many votes as those of his two rivals put together. Nothing but the liquor question could have brought Mr. Brennan into such prominence.

Steck Wins Against Brookhart

After a number of days given to debating the facts and the principles involved, the Senate voted on April 12 to unseat Senator Smith W. Brookhart, of Iowa, in favor of Capt. Daniel F. Steck, the Democratic contestant. The vote had been close in November, 1924, a great many regular Republicans having marked their ballot papers against Brookhart and in favor of Steck, because Brookhart—although the Republican nominee for the Senate—had so conducted himself as to be regarded as opposing the election of Mr. Coolidge and supporting the candidacy of Mr. LaFollette. It seems that a good many of these marked ballots—the intent of the voters being to support all other Republican candidates but to substitute the name of Steck for that of Brookhart—did not comply with the technicalities of the Iowa election laws. Failure to count such votes in favor of Steck resulted in a slight plurality for Brookhart, who was accordingly given his certificate of election and seated at Washington pending a contest that was begun on behalf of Steck. A Senate sub-committee, after protracted and diligent investigation and a recount of the votes, decided that Steck was entitled to the seat. Ten members of the sub-committee were of this opinion, and only one member held that Brookhart should not be disturbed. Captain Steck is a reputable lawyer, who is welcomed by the Democratic minority as a timely recruit.



Photographs Harris & Ewing

SENATORS JAMES E. WATSON [left] AND ARTHUR R. ROBINSON OF INDIANA

(Mr. Robinson is a candidate in the Republican primaries for the short term, and Mr. Watson hopes to succeed himself for another term of six years)

*The Senate
Closely
Divided*

Since this sub-committee was made up about equally of Senators of both parties, it was at first supposed that its findings would be accepted by a very large majority of the Senate. Opinions, however, began to shift as the subject was debated, and finally Steck won by a very small margin, the vote being forty-five to forty-one. Eight Senators were absent but "paired," four being for Steck and four for Brookhart. If these men had been present, the vote would have stood forty-nine to forty-five. Senator Brookhart of course took no part, and his colleague, Senator Cummins, for personal reasons, did not participate in the debate or the vote. Sixteen Republicans and twenty-nine Democrats voted to seat Steck, who will therefore continue to hold the seat until March 4, 1931. The term of Senator Cummins will expire next March, and primaries will be held on June 7. Mr. Brookhart is to enter the Republican primaries in opposition to Iowa's veteran Senator. Mr. Brookhart is still a comparatively young man, whose experience in public life has been limited, and whose opportunities to gain wisdom for a few years might be improved by the freedom for study, travel, and observation that private life affords. He returned promptly to Iowa, however, and took steps at once to push his campaign for the nomination.

*Senator
Cummins
of Iowa*

Senator Cummins is to-day the most distinguished member of the Senate; and, though not the most vociferous, he is probably the ablest, the best trained, and the most useful. He was for a long time chairman of the Commerce Committee, and continues to be the Senate's foremost authority upon railroad legislation and upon the relations of government to corporations. While keeping his influential place in that committee, he holds the chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee; and the duties of his post are occupying his time and strength to the utmost. To his great legal experience and knowledge Senator Cummins adds rare qualities of impartial judgment. Furthermore, he is too conscientious to shirk a kind of work that piles up endlessly and that leaves little freedom for the showy floor

and platform performances that certain of his colleagues take daily part in, for sweet publicity's sake. It is not to be believed that the Republicans of Iowa in their primaries, and the voters of Iowa at the November polls, could fail to support Senator Cummins this year, and thus to honor themselves while showing the respect that is due to the opinion of the country.

*Indiana
Also to
Make Choice*

The Indiana primaries occur on the eighteenth of May, with Senator James E. Watson as a candidate for renomination. The new Indiana Senator, Arthur R. Robinson, who was appointed to the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Ralston, will be a candidate also this fall, for the election that must be held to fill the seat for the remaining portion of the term for which Mr. Ralston had been elected. Efforts on the part of influential Republicans of Indiana to persuade former Senator Beveridge to allow his name to be presented before the primaries were not successful. Mr. Beveridge is for the present deeply absorbed in the writing of his life of Abraham Lincoln, which will take the form of a political and historical study of the period in which Lincoln lived, as well as of biography in the strict sense. It would seem that Messrs. Watson and Robinson are likely to be successful in the Republican primaries.

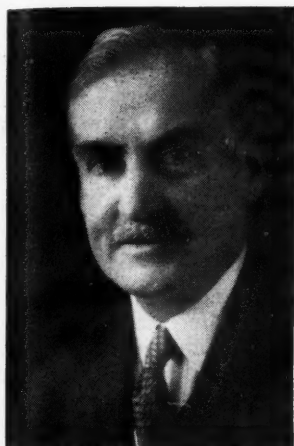
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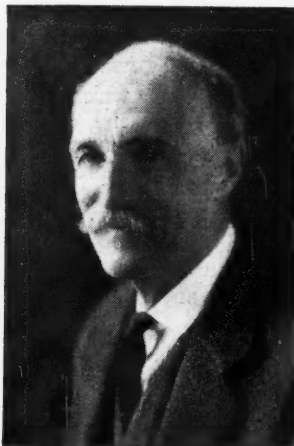
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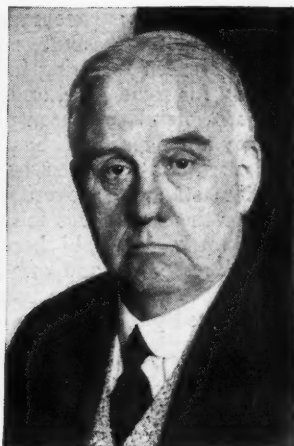
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IN PENNSYLVANIA, THREE PROMINENT REPUBLICANS ARE CANDIDATES FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE

(Senator Pepper [left] seeks a renomination, while Governor Pinchot [center], as a dry leader, and Representative W. S. Vare [right], as a wet champion, are rivals for Mr. Pepper's seat)

Pinchot and Vare Seek Pepper's Seat As all readers of political news are well aware, a Republican nomination in Pennsylvania is usually followed by easy victory at the polls, so that primary contests in the Keystone State bear some resemblance to those south of the Potomac, where Democratic nominations are equivalent to election. Senator Pepper's seat is involved, and he hopes to succeed himself for another term. In March, Governor Pinchot came out as a candidate for this Senate seat, and his announcement was speedily followed by that of William S. Vare, who is now a Representative in Congress from a Philadelphia district. Governor Pinchot is known as a dry of the most uncompromising type, and Mr. Vare seized the opportunity to emerge as a champion of the wets. The liquor cause seems to be bringing certain men like Vare of Pennsylvania and Brennan of Illinois to the front as candidates for high office who would not otherwise have found excuse for such aspirations. Governor Pinchot has taken so strong a lead in law enforcement work that he is more actively identified with the dry cause than is Senator Pepper. The Governor also is more popular in the coal districts and in labor circles than are the other candidates. He has been supporting President Coolidge, although he has been at swords points with Secretary Mellon over prohibition enforcement. It was charged by Governor Pinchot that the Vare machine in Philadelphia had

forged signatures on nominating petitions; and the contest during April attracted attention throughout the country. The Pennsylvania primaries will occur on May 21. Few men have made notable records more quickly in the United States Senate than the two present members from Pennsylvania, namely, Mr. Pepper of Philadelphia and Mr. Reed of Pittsburgh. Pennsylvania should find some way to keep both Pepper and Pinchot in public life.

Mr. Wadsworth of New York Most of the senatorial primaries do not come until August and September; and we shall discuss these in later issues. New York, for example, holds its primaries as late as September 14. However, the political pot in New York State is always simmering, and the question of Senator Wadsworth's renomination is by no means left in abeyance for attention four months hence. Mr. Wadsworth holds a position of dominating influence in the Republican organization of the State of New York, and he is greatly respected at Washington for his industry as well as his ability, and for the unflinching courage with which he stands by his honest opinions. He has never believed in the feasibility of prohibition, but there are many dry Republicans who will, nevertheless, continue to support him for the Senate on his general record as a public servant. There are other dry Republicans who feel that Mr. Wadsworth

might well have encouraged the passage of the Wales-Jenks State enforcement bills that had been wavering in the balance at Albany for some time, and that (as it was alleged) might have been passed promptly and by a fair margin if Senator Wadsworth had used his influence to that end. As matters stand, if Governor Smith should run for the Senate this fall against Senator Wadsworth, it would hardly be possible to make the wet and dry issue count for much as between these two very able and experienced public men.

*Wets and Drys
in New York
Politics*

On the other hand, there are Republicans in New York, among whom is Colonel Roosevelt, who are not prohibitionists as a matter of principle but who believe in law enforcement and are of opinion that New York State has not been praiseworthy in the position it has assumed toward a national policy since the repeal of the Mullan-Gage enforcement law. The Wales-Jenks enforcement bill came to a final vote in the State Assembly on April 13 with the unexpected result that it was passed by virtue of Speaker McGinnies' vote in its favor. It had already been defeated in the Senate, however, and there remained no hope of making it a law at this session. The State Senate, on the other hand, on the same date (April 13) passed the so-called Karle-Phelps referendum measure by a vote of thirty to twenty-one. Under this bill it is proposed to submit to the voters of New York at the regular election in November the following question:

Should the Congress of the United States modify the Federal act to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States so that the same shall not prohibit the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation or exportation of beverages which are not in fact intoxicating as determined in accordance with the laws of the respective States?

It did not appear to be probable that this proposal would pass the Assembly. Thus the wet Senate having blocked the Assembly in the matter of passing enforcement laws, it was understood that the Assembly in turn would block the Senate. A good deal of pressure was being brought from outside of New York by the wet interests, however, to secure a favorable vote in the Assembly and thus to force upon the people of New York a most ill-considered and unavailing referendum.

*Albany
Makes a Fine
Record*

Quite apart from these details regarding prohibition issues, the New York legislature, which was planning to adjourn before the end of April, had much to show for its season's work. The numerous bills requisite to give effect to the report of the Hughes Commission on the reorganization of the State departments will have been adopted, and this is a matter of significance to the entire country. An executive budget and a four-year term for the Governor and other elective State officers will bring about a considerable change in the practical operations of Government at Albany. Governor Smith had two projects of large importance that he urged upon the legislature, one of them having to do with the development of water power by the State, and the other with the creation of a Housing Bank for the purpose of financing and encouraging the building of homes of moderate rental for working people, through investment by corporations earning limited dividends. The Republican legislature was not willing to accept Governor Smith's bills relating to either of these two subjects, and it is likely enough that both will have been deferred until next year. But there has been valuable discussion of both, and results may be hoped for in 1927.

*Taxes
for Local
Purposes*

At Albany, the Governor and legislature had agreed upon the Phelps bill cutting the income tax by 25 per cent. as in the two previous years. Another measure increases the exemptions to make them conformable with the new federal law. These exemptions affect about 400,000 taxpayers in the State of New York, each of whom is saved, on the average, about eighty dollars a year of direct State tax. Whether or not this idea of relieving in the States the taxpayers of moderate incomes, who have already been relieved at Washington, is based upon sound principles of taxation, raises a question worthy of study. Under existing systems of State, county, and local taxation, the farmers as landowners are subjected to heavy direct taxes upon the assessed value of their property. The owners of homes in towns and villages are similarly taxed. A system of State income taxes applied at low rates, avoiding progressive surtaxes (which are already far too heavy under the federal system) could yield a large aggregate income for State

and local purposes and make it possible to relieve real estate—and particularly to relieve farmers—from burdens that are now almost intolerable. The very fact of high exemptions in the federal income tax, and of lowered normal rates, with no surtaxes applied to incomes below \$10,000, gives opportunity for a State and local system that could be so levied as to distribute the burdens of local government much more equitably than at present.

*A Judge
Under
Indictment*

On April 1 the House of Representatives voted by 306 to 62 in favor of the impeachment of a United States judge whose jurisdiction is the Eastern District of Illinois. Charges against Judge George W. English had been pending for more than a year. A majority of the Judiciary Committee has made a report sustaining the accusations of misconduct, although a strong minority expressed dissenting views. President Wilson appointed Judge English in 1918. The charges range from various instances of unbecoming behavior and speech on the part of Judge English to matters that constitute serious misdemeanors. Forty-one Democrats and twenty-one Republicans voted against impeachment. The House appointed nine "managers," five of them Republicans and four Democrats, to present the charges to the Senate, which will sit as a body of judges. The last case of federal impeachment was that of Judge Archbald, whose trial began in December, 1912. The charges were sustained and he was removed from office. In 1862 a Tennessee District Judge was impeached and convicted for having exercised judicial functions as a judge under the Confederate Government. Judge Pickering, of New Hampshire, was convicted in 1803, the principal charge against him, it would seem, being habitual intoxication. It takes a two-thirds vote to convict; and undoubtedly Judge English will be strongly defended in the trial that will presumably begin as soon as Congress completes the work of the present session.

*Our Place
in the
World Court*

The World Court question was regarded at Washington as entering upon a distinctly new political phase after the defeat of Senator McKinley for renomination in Illinois. Senator Borah and others were prompt to assume that the victory of Colonel Smith was due to the fact that Senator McKinley

had supported the Administration by voting in favor of the World Court, with the reservations as adopted. But Colonel Smith had made a close run against Mr. McKinley six years ago, and has worked assiduously in preparation for this season's contest with very good prospects of success long before the World Court question had been brought in. Meanwhile, it should be remembered that our joining the World Court must, in any case, await the decision of many other countries upon our reservations. The Council of the League of Nations has proposed that the governments which now support the World Court should deal with the American reservations when their delegates meet at Geneva on September 1. There could be no objection on our part to their taking this course. Forty-eight countries are concerned, and Secretary Kellogg had promptly sent the reservations that the Senate had adopted to each of the governments. Cuba had assented promptly, but other countries had delayed.

*American
Reservations
in Question*

All of these nations, represented diplomatically at Washington, can readily enough inform themselves as to the meaning and bearing of the reservations. Secretary Kellogg has made it clear that no authority has been conferred upon the State Department to negotiate about these reservations, or to attempt to interpret or explain or defend them by sending American agents to meet the delegates of the other countries at Geneva. Mr. Kellogg has stated the case in language altogether courteous toward individual governments and toward the League of Nations. It would not seem likely that other governments could object to any of these reservations, unless it were the one which relates to so-called "advisory opinions." It is the American view that—so far as we are concerned—the World Court should be maintained as a tribunal of justice, and should not be diverted from its true functions by being used to pull political chestnuts out of the fire, either for the Council of the League of Nations or for any particular Government.

*As to
"Advisory
Opinions"*

The reservation framed by the Senate relating to these advisory opinions expresses a correct sentiment. The United States has always favored a tribunal for international justice, properly constituted. The Eu-



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TWO DIPLOMATS IN CONFERENCE WITH SECRETARY KELLOGG AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT

(Hon. Alanson B. Houghton, Ambassador to Great Britain, on the left, and Hon. Hugh Gibson, Minister to Switzerland, on the right, were invited to visit Washington and confer regarding our relation to affairs in Europe, particularly the approaching conference at Geneva on the reduction in armaments. Pessimistic opinions attributed by the press to Mr. Houghton were disavowed as having any official character or any relation to conference either with Secretary Kellogg or the President. Mr. Houghton returned to London early in April)

European powers are perfectly aware of this fact; but they are so committed to their traditional games of empire building and to nationalistic rivalries that it is going to be exceedingly hard for them to learn how to maintain their new international institutions in good faith. Even the Locarno agreements that promised so much have been greatly shaken by recent events. As for the intricate situation at Geneva that resulted in the failure to bring Germany into the League of Nations, we have but to ask our readers to study thoroughly the article by Mr. Simonds called "The Battle of Geneva" in our present issue. Mr. Simonds' present European tour had been so planned as to bring him to Geneva for the period during which this protracted struggle of March was being staged, with the whole world anxiously looking on.

*League
Slips and
Mishaps*

The British Foreign Minister, Sir Austen Chamberlain, had gone to Geneva with high prestige and great confidence. He could easily have carried out his original program, which meant principally the admission of Germany to the League and to a permanent place in the League's Council. But he had made the mistake of having entered upon a subsequent understanding with the French in favor of giving Poland a place in the Council at the same time with Germany. This scheme failed, and Sir Austen was bitterly criticized, especially in England. Finally, Brazil took the ground that the Western Hemisphere ought to have a place

in the Council, and asserted claims that—through misunderstanding or otherwise—were not withdrawn. It does not follow necessarily that the Locarno agreements are shattered or that the League of Nations is a sinking wreck. It all merely illustrates the fact that the paths of reconciliation and peace are hard to travel, and that those who believe in better days for Europe must not only keep their faith but must work and pray without ceasing. There is a fair chance that things may move much more smoothly next September.

*Mussolini
and European
Nationalism*

It is not, however, to be expected that the approaching conferences relating to disarmament can do anything very radical. Russia has refused to participate on the ground that in view of the unsettled disputes between Switzerland and the Moscow Government it would be impossible for Russia to participate in an international affair called to meet on Swiss soil. This would seem to be an excuse rather than a serious reason. There can be no doubt of the intensity of nationalism in Europe at the present moment. This is due in part to the assertiveness of Mussolini, although his spectacular appeals to the Italian imagination are evidently not meant as threats against his neighbors. Italy produces a constant surplus of population, and Mussolini is trying to find ways to deal with very difficult economic problems. The attempt of an insane Englishwoman to assassinate him had no political significance,



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**MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION ATTENDING THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE
AT GENEVA IN MAY**

(Our Minister to Switzerland, Mr. Hugh Gibson, has been made chairman of the delegation. Seated, from left to right, are Admiral Hilary P. Jones, Hon. Hugh Gibson, Admiral A. T. Long, Maj.-Gen. Dennis E. Nolan, and Maj.-Gen. George V. Strong. Standing, left to right, are: Allen W. Dulles and Theodore Marriner, both of the State Department, Capt. Adolphus Andrews of the Navy, and Dorsey Richardson of the State Department)

but it proved to be "good publicity" for the "Duce," who proceeded at once to visit Tripoli, the great African dependency of Italy, where it is hoped that irrigation and other engineering achievements may bring large and rapid developments.

*The Italian
and French
Debts*

While Premier Mussolini was glorying in the possibilities of Italy's economic improvement, and of the redemption of desert areas in Tripoli, the American Senate was debating the ratification of the debt settlement that had been agreed upon between the Italian financial Mission and our own able group of foreign-debt commissioners. A vote was to be taken just after these pages had gone to press, with fair prospects that the settlement would be ratified. Our readers are aware that we believe not only that this Italian settlement should be accepted, but also that the French debt should be adjusted upon terms that high-minded Frenchmen would regard as reasonable and satisfactory. We stated our views on the French debt last month. America could make no better investment for our own children and for generations yet unborn than to meet our French debtors at this time in a spirit of warm good-will, trusting in their honor and their good faith. The present French Ministry has made strenuous efforts

to balance the budget, and, with an adjustment of the foreign debts, France would find itself upon solid financial ground after several years of great disturbance.

*Porto Rico
at the
Front*

We are publishing in this number a timely and well-informed statement by Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay on present conditions in Porto Rico. Dr. Lindsay, as an early commissioner of education in that island, helped to lay the foundations for the present excellent system of schools and was also identified with the establishment of the young University of Porto Rico that is now making such rapid strides under the guidance of Chancellor Brenner, with the liberal income recently provided by the insular legislature. Governor Towner arrived at Washington in the middle of April, with favorable reports upon Porto Rican progress and conditions.

*A Survey of
Philippine
Conditions*

Meanwhile, President Coolidge has thought it well to secure a careful report upon the complicated political and economic conditions in the Philippines. He has appointed Hon. Carmi A. Thompson of Ohio to make a survey, in order to assist the Administration at Washington in reaching conclusions about some questions that are in dispute.



HON. CARMÍ A. THOMPSON, WHO IS TO MAKE A PHILIPPINE SURVEY FOR THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Thompson is a successful business man of Cleveland, who has also had official and political experience in various positions. It seems to be a growing opinion in the United States that it would be cruel to the Filipinos and disastrous from every standpoint for the United States to withdraw its sovereignty. Furthermore, it would also seem sensible, if we are not to withdraw immediately, that we should take firm steps to develop economic resources and see that the islands are well-governed with a view to their prosperity.

*What Does
the Collapse of
Stocks Mean?*

Col. Leonard P. Ayres, of the Cleveland Trust Company, makes some comments in this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS on the sensational downward plunge of security prices in March, which fulfilled so neatly the predictions that Colonel Ayres made in the January issue of this magazine. In the current article this successful analyst does not commit himself to any predictions concerning the movements of business in the immediate future or attempt to answer the question which business men everywhere are discussing so anxiously now, as to whether these violent recessions in price on the Stock Exchanges mean, as they usually do mean, the approach, within a

few months at most, of severe reaction in business and trade. We hope, in an early future issue of this magazine, to present Colonel Ayres's convictions as to the imminence either of trade depression or of continued prosperity. Mr. George E. Roberts, a vice-president of the National City Bank, and the editor of the excellent monthly bulletin of that institution, has come, like Colonel Ayres, to command particular attention when he has anything to say on economic matters of current interest. He has not hesitated to take a generally cheerful view of the trade situation ahead, notwithstanding the price collapse in March.

*Mr. Roberts'
Cheerful
View*

Mr. Roberts interprets these recent stock market crashes as probably merely a readjustment now due, because of overspeculation in securities and real estate and he feels that the "moderate recession that has taken place in certain lines of activities since the first of the year may be viewed as a let-down to a safer level of doing business." Mr. Roberts believes that the rise and fall of security prices have to-day much less significance as to future business trends than they had when there was no Federal Reserve System and when in times of speculative activities most of the surplus funds of the country were tied up in the market. He finds the current reports from business still indicating a high level of production. The freight traffic moved by the railroads in the first three months of 1926 was slightly more than the year before, in spite of the fact that no anthracite coal was being hauled. In the month of March the volume of checks handled by the banks ran higher than ever before. There were no serious strikes interfering with industry, nearly full employment everywhere, and no particular labor shortage. The unprecedented building boom showed some signs of slackening, but no marked reaction.

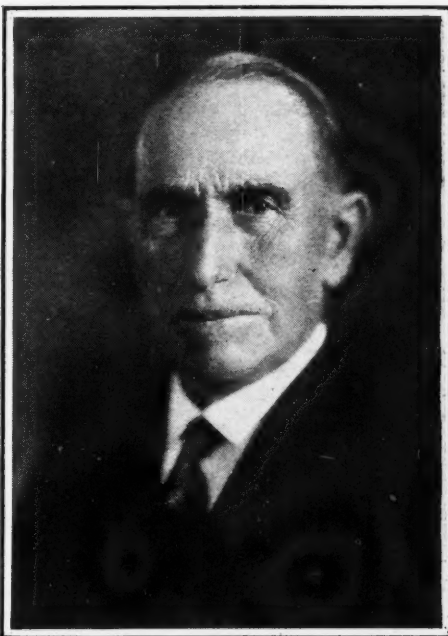
*The
Big Tax
Returns*

Whether Mr. Roberts is right in his generally comfortable feeling about business and his refusal to be frightened by the antics of prices on the stock market, or whether those are more nearly right who feel confident that the recession in security prices points to a corresponding depression in business within the next few months—the real prosperity of the country during the past year is surprisingly shown by the collection of

the first quarter's installment of income taxes. Allowing for the lowered rates, the Treasury had estimated collections for this first quarter of 1926 at about \$390,000,000. The actual figures seem to be between \$490,000,000 and \$500,000,000—substantially in excess of the amount paid last year even with the lower rates applying now. It must be remembered that last year the highest surtaxes were at the rate of 40 per cent., while this year 20 per cent. is the maximum. That decidedly larger revenues should be collected under the 20 per cent. régime cannot but reinforce the country's confidence in Secretary Mellon's theory (which was so ridiculed at first and which he "sold" to the country with such persistence and intelligence) that more money would be paid to the Treasury with lower rates than with the high ones of war times.

*Eyes on
the Motor
Industry*

In the anxious scanning of the future by business men, wondering if the late stock market portents mean that they should now curtail their plans, the trend of the automobile industry is being studied with particular care. It has grown so unbelievably huge during the past decade that a sudden curtailment of, say, something like 20 per cent. in the buying of motor cars might have the most disastrous effects on business and industry in general. The steel and iron factories would be hard hit, as the motor car has come to be an indispensable reliance of the steel-maker for keeping his factories running; and beginning with this basic industry one after another business would be involved if any sudden lapse occurred in the consuming power of the American motor-buying public. Some statistician has figured that the sum of \$14,000,000,000 is spent directly or indirectly each year because of the motor car. If this young industrial giant has, now and then, convulsions of growing pains, the whole country will feel it. The retail buying of motor cars had been somewhat disappointing up to April 1, but the assured and optimistic automobile men were certain that this was simply due to a particularly inclement spring, and that their customers would come along fast enough when the weather became more inviting. The automobile manufacturers have production plans for 1926 which call for about as many cars as were made last year, but some will increase their production quite radically.



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**THE LATE COLONEL JOHN C. COOLIDGE,
FATHER OF THE PRESIDENT**

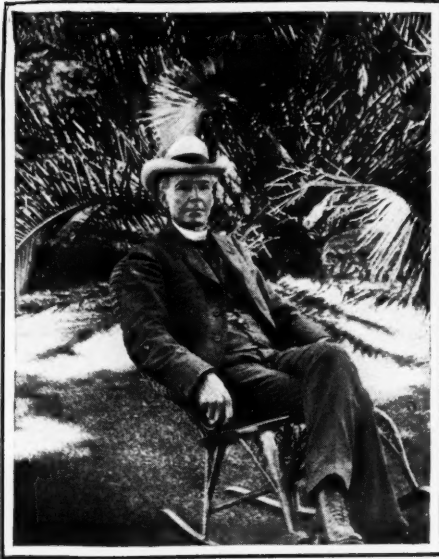
(Colonel Coolidge died at his home in Plymouth, Vermont, on March 18)

*Mr. Ford's
Profits*

Mr. Henry Ford does not publish an income account, but in response to the Massachusetts State law his balance sheet is made public each year; and it recently came out showing cash assets of some \$77,000,000 more than a year ago and apparently about the same profits in 1925 as were made in 1924. Mr. Ford is, in fact, so well fixed as to working capital that he could last year carry on a billion dollars worth of business without borrowing a cent from the banks or anybody else. That his profits did not appear to be increased over previous years may be due to the high initial expense of launching a new model with mass production of such dimensions. Or it may be due partly to the competition of other cheap cars. Mr. Ford makes a profit of between forty and fifty dollars on each car and distributes over two million cars yearly.

*Installment
Selling to
the Front*

The tremendous volume of motor car production has been obtained would not have been nearly so a consumption stimulated



THE LATE LUTHER BURBANK OF CALIFORNIA

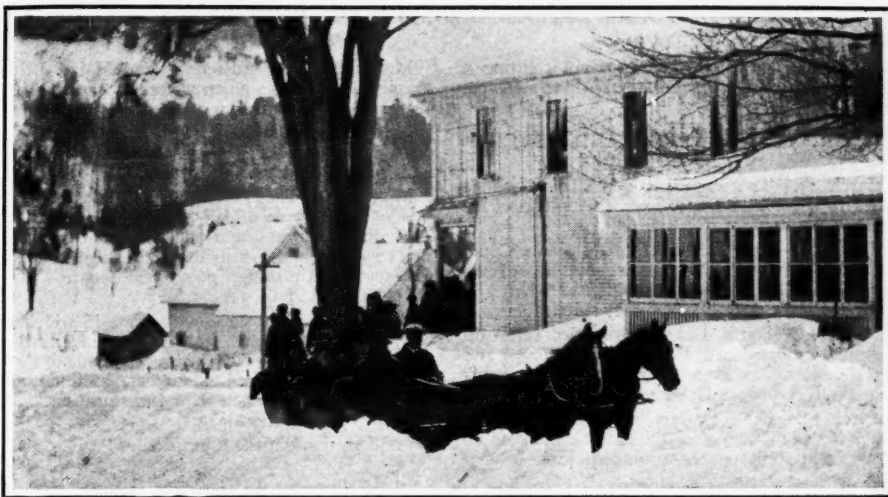
installment plan. Studies recently made of the growth of the installment business have placed the proportion of all motor cars sold on time payments as high as 85 per cent. In a recent investigation conducted by the Farmers Loan and Trust Company of New York, it was reported from thrifty, conservative Philadelphia that 85 to 90 per cent. of all furniture, 80 per cent. of all phonographs, 75 per cent. of automobiles and washing machines, and 65 per cent. of vacuum cleaners, are now sold on time payments. Some able men believe that installment buying on this scale is leading the American people into a tangle of debt from which they are going to have difficulty in freeing themselves, and which may, in the next period of acute depression in business, bring down the structure of credit with a crash. A greater number of our business heads, however, believe that within its proper safeguards the installment system is not dangerous, and that it serves a most excellent purpose in allowing people to gratify their ambitions and desires under circumstances that would make it impossible if they had to pay cash. The point is made, too, with force, that the market is so hugely increased by using the installment method in selling that the volume of production goes up rapidly enough to make the unit costs go down decidedly.

*Col. Coolidge,
a Fine Type
of American*

The death of Col. John C. Coolidge, the father of the President, occurred at his home in Vermont on March 18, while his distinguished son was journeying northward in the frustrated hope of arriving at Plymouth Notch before the end came. The Vermont hills lay covered under a heavy snowfall; and these last scenes in the life of the sturdy and typical New England farmer aroused the sympathy and interest of the country to an unusual degree. The simplicity of Colonel Coolidge's chosen way of life, together with the dignity and the genuineness of his character, had made a strong appeal to the people of the entire nation. In a time when somewhat rapid changes in the external conditions of life have tended to stimulate restlessness and to draw people too rapidly from country scenes to population centers, there is bound to be some regret for the passing of phases of American life so well represented by Colonel Coolidge. Nevertheless, the newer things have their advantages, and are in no way incompatible with those high qualities of character that were fostered traditionally in the hill towns of New England.

*Burbank,
Another Son
of the Soil*

Colonel Coolidge had come to be known and esteemed throughout the country by reason of the public distinction attained by his son. Another son of rural New England, Luther Burbank, who was like Colonel Coolidge in the dignity and simplicity of his character, and who was also devoted to nature and out-of-door pursuits, had gone to California and had attained world-wide fame by reason of successful experiments in the breeding of plants. There has been much valuable work going on elsewhere in this field of scientific experimentation for the improvement of fruits and grains, and of various plants, trees, and shrubs that are useful to mankind. But Luther Burbank, endowed with great power of concentration and of continuous effort, had so labored along his own personal lines as to have won a popular fame somewhat like that of Mr. Edison. His fine humanity had gained the affection of all who had come within the range of his acquaintance or his influence. We shall find occasion to return in some future number to a recital and estimate of his practical achievements.



PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AND HIS WIFE, IN THE BACK SEAT OF A SLEIGH BY WHICH THEY WERE CONVEYED TO THE HOME OF MR. COOLIDGE'S FATHER, AT PLYMOUTH NOTCH, VERMONT. THEY ARRIVED THE DAY AFTER THE DEATH OF COLONEL COOLIDGE, WHICH OCCURRED ON MARCH 18.

THE GIST OF A MONTH'S NEWS

FROM MARCH 15 TO APRIL 15, 1926

I. PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

March 15.—The House passes the White Radio Control bill, voting 218 to 124.

March 17.—The Senate rejects the nomination of Judge Wallace McCamant of Oregon for the Circuit Court of Appeals.

March 22.—In the Senate, the pessimistic report of Ambassador Houghton on European affairs is debated, Mr. Harrison (Dem., Miss.) leading the attack.

March 24.—The Senate defeats the long and short haul railroad rate bill, voting 33 to 46; all radicals except Shipstead vote for the measure.

March 25.—In the Senate, debate is begun on the Italian war debt settlement, chairman Smoot of the Finance Committee leading for ratification.

The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections votes 10 to 1 to unseat Smith W. Brookhart of Iowa in favor of Daniel F. Steck (Dem.), reporting 1,420 plurality for Steck on a recount of votes.

March 26.—The Senate confirms the appointment of Thomas F. Woodlock as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, ending a long contest based on geographical representation.

March 29.—In the House, Mr. Mills (Rep., N. Y.) introduces a bill for adjustment of German war claims; the measure is apparently sanctioned by the Treasury Department.

March 30.—A Senate subpoena is ordered by Mr. Robinson (Dem., Ark.) against the Tariff Commission to compel divulgence of reports to the President under the flexible tariff law on sugar, butter, halibut, print rolls and linseed oil.

April 1.—The House impeaches, 306 to 62, Federal Judge George W. English of Illinois.

April 2.—In the Senate, Mr. Goff (Rep., W. Va.) introduces a bill framed by Gen. Lincoln C. Andrews for amendment of the Volstead Act to provide for more effective enforcement of prohibition.

April 3.—The Senate votes 47 to 27 to refer the amendment of Senate rules to committee.

April 5.—Senate hearings are begun by a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee on modification of the prohibition law (see page 455).

The House passes a bill increasing Spanish war pensions \$18,555,528.

April 6.—A Senate investigating committee hears Gen. Lincoln C. Andrews testify that 875 prohibition agents have been dismissed for cause and only 5 per cent. of smuggled liquor is captured.

The House Military Affairs Committee hears Secretary Davis outline a plan of legislative preparedness by enactment in peace time of war measures to be put into effect in emergency by the President.

April 8.—The House votes 265 to 87 against suspending rules to reapportion 435 Congressional districts on the basis of the 1920 census.

April 12.—The Senate votes 45 to 41 to unseat Smith W. Brookhart, nominal Republican, in favor of Capt. Daniel F. Steck, Democratic contestant.

The House Judiciary Committee hears Gen. Lincoln C. Andrews on prohibition enforcement; he says an army of 12,000 to 15,000 would be needed for proper patrol of the borders.

In the House a naval aviation bill with a program for \$89,000,000 of expenditure (\$12,285,000 in 1927) is adopted by vote of 207 to 39; an Assistant Secretary for Air in the Department of Commerce is provided in a commercial aviation bill adopted by vote of 225 to 80 (already passed by the Senate).

April 13.—The House passes a bill creating a Foreign Trade Service in the Department of Commerce.

II. AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

March 21.—The President and Mrs. Coolidge return to the White House from the funeral of his father in Vermont.

March 22.—The United States Supreme Court decides to review the cancellation of the Government's Elk Hills oil reserve lease against Doheny and allows special appeals in conspiracy suits.

March 23.—South Dakota primaries result in renomination of Senator Peter Norbeck (Rep.) and Governor Carl Gunderson (Rep.), while Democrats name W. J. Bulow for Governor.

March 25.—The New Jersey legislature ends its session for original passage of bills; a new session on May 11 will study conservation of potable waters.

March 28.—Chicago election commissioners erase 218,217 names from the voting lists for failure to respond to "suspect" notices giving opportunity to qualify as voters; over 100,000 notices are returned in the mail, undelivered.

March 30.—The Kentucky Republican convention renominates United States Senator Richard P. Ernst.

March 31.—The New York legislature passes a bill repealing an ad valorem capital and surplus tax on banks and trust companies; the law had just been declared constitutional by the highest State court; a new measure levies on income.

April 1.—Governor Al Smith signs bills reducing income taxes \$14,000,000 in New York State; increased exemptions relieve 400,000 persons from paying any tax.

April 2.—Carmi A. Thompson, of Ohio, is delegated by President Coolidge as special commissioner to study economic and other internal conditions in the Philippines.

April 3.—Jonathan M. Davis, former Governor of Kansas, is acquitted, with his son Russell, of accepting a bribe for a pardon.

April 5.—Gerald Chapman, so-called super-bandit, is hanged in Connecticut after a long and sensational legal fight.

April 13.—In Illinois Republican primaries, Col. Frank L. Smith, of Dwight, is nominated for United States Senator over Senator William B. McKinley, while George E. Brennan is named by the Democrats to run against Smith (see page 460).

III. NOTES ON FOREIGN POLITICS

March 18.—The French Chamber, in an uproarious session full of dramatic incidents, votes confidence in Premier Briand, 341-165.

Turkey revises judiciary rules to admit qualified persons of either sex to appointment in any judicial position.

March 19.—Admiral Coundouriotis resigns as President of Greece.

March 20.—A new Czechoslovakian Cabinet is formed by former Premier Cerny, with Dr. Eduard Benes continuing as Foreign Minister.

March 22.—Chang Tso-lin ousts the Kuominchun (National Army) from Tientsin, and they retreat toward Peking.

March 23.—Sir Austen Chamberlain, British Foreign Minister, is given a vote of confidence by the House of Commons.

March 24.—In Italy, the Matteotti murder case ends with conviction and sentence to five years imprisonment of three defendants.

March 25.—The French Chamber approves a budget bill by vote of 415 to 128, with a deficit of 4,373,000,000 francs, and adopts Finance Minister Peret's proposal for utilizing 2,500,000,000 Dawes plan receipts; the budget goes to the Senate.

March 26.—The Japanese Diet is closed by imperial edict after a riotous session in which the wheat duty is doubled, flour impost increased 50 per cent., transfer of Nishihara bank loans to China made to the Tokyo Government, and subsidies arranged for iron and steel and for education.

March 27.—The Rumanian Cabinet of Premier Bratianu resigns on the expiration of Parliament.

March 29.—Mexico's new alien land laws are officially promulgated, thus taking effect.

March 30.—General Alexander Averescu forms a new Rumanian Cabinet.

March 31.—The French Chamber votes 287 to 242 for the creation of a Government controlled organization of oil imports.

April 1.—In Yugoslavia, Stephan Raditch and four other Croats resign from the Cabinet.

April 2.—Dr. Isidro Ayora is appointed President of the Council of Government of Ecuador, to hold office till May 24, when the constituent Assembly elects a successor to Gonzalo S. Cordova, who resigned last July.

April 3.—New tax legislation to meet the French budget deficit is passed through both houses of the French Parliament.

April 4.—Premier Pachitch's Cabinet resigns in Yugoslavia.

April 6.—The Congress of Russian emigrés at Paris unanimously chooses Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaievitch as leader of Russian Monarchists.

April 7.—Premier Mussolini is shot and slightly wounded in the nose at Rome by Hon. Violet Albina Gibson, who attempts to assassinate him; she is English and considered demented.

April 8.—Mussolini sails for Tripoli, addressing Fascists on supporting a strong navy.

Louis J. Malvy resigns as Minister of Interior in the French Cabinet.

April 10.—President Tuan Chi-jui is deposed by Marshal Wu Pei-fu in a coup d'état supported by the national armies (Kuominchun); former President Tsao Kun is freed.

April 11.—Premier General Pangalos is elected President of Greece; in 23 provinces out of 35 he was the only candidate.

IV. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

March 15.—Col. Arthur Woods is appointed by the League Council as an expert on the Permanent Advisory Commission on Opium.

Foreign diplomats give Chinese militarists at Tientsin a three-day ultimatum to reopen navigation through Taku.

March 17.—The League Assembly adjourns a special session without admitting Germany to membership; the failure is due to disagreement in the Council over Brazil's demand for a permanent

seat; a commission will study reconstruction of the Council until it reconvenes in September.

March 18.—The League Council arranges to invite the United States to Geneva on September 1 to discuss American reservations regarding United States participation in the World Court.

The preparatory commission for a disarmament conference fixes May 17 as the date for its first meeting at Geneva.

Peking accepts demands of foreign powers regarding Tientsin and Taku; thirty-two radical students and labor leaders are killed by Cabinet guards while rioting in protest.

March 22.—Russia is officially reinvented to the Geneva preliminary conference on disarmament.

March 26.—The Brazilian Ambassador at Washington issues a statement that Brazil "did not oppose the admission of Germany . . . except in so far as it involved the exclusion of the whole American continent."

Ogden Hammond presents his credentials to King Alfonso as American Ambassador to Spain.

March 27.—Ambassador Sheffield requests the Mexican Foreign Office to take immediate action to punish bandits who attacked American engineers in Durango.

March 28.—Chile refuses to suspend the plebiscitary proceedings in Tacna-Arica and the registration proceeds with Peru not participating; Chile thus accepts the United States offer to negotiate for settlement without suspension of plebiscite while Peru accepts with suspension.

Hugh Gibson is chosen as head of the American delegation to the preliminary disarmament conference at Geneva; he will have nine expert advisers.

April 2.—It is learned that the League has invited World Court signatories to a conference for considering American reservations.

The French war against the Druse tribes in southern Lebanon is resumed.

British airplanes aid Irak troops in a skirmish with 2,000 Syrians and Arabs.

April 3.—Ambassador Alanson B. Houghton sails from New York for his post in London, after conferring with the President.

The United States-Mexican General Claims Commission holds, in the case of George W. Hopkins of Cuayagmas, Sonora, that a subsequent legal government is responsible for the acts of a previous "usurper" régime like that of Huerta in 1913-14.

April 6.—Ambassadors from Chile and Peru meet at Washington, D. C., and confer with Secretary Kellogg on adjustment of national differences over Tacna-Arica.

April 7.—Secretary Kellogg addresses 300 publishers and editors from all the 21 republics of North and South America at Washington.

April 8.—President Coolidge tells an important Pan-American gathering of diplomats and editors that the United States seeks peace through non-interference with other countries.

April 10.—Russia declines to participate in the League disarmament and economic conferences.

April 11.—Mussolini visits Tripoli and reviews native troops and Fascisti; he says Italy's desire is that "Fascist Italian Tripoli . . . shall be rich, prosperous, and happy."

With the pledge of March 27 that Mexican oil land laws will not be applied retroactively, and that American owners will be given renewable concessions

confirming old ownership titles, diplomatic correspondence between Washington and Mexico City is closed.

April 13.—The first Pan-American Congress of Journalists ends at Washington, with official congratulations by Vice-President Dawes.

Germany accepts a League invitation to confer on reorganization of the Council.

V. IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMICS

March 30.—Stock prices on the New York exchange drop sharply again; 50 leading issues which averaged \$136 on February 23 have fallen to \$110, a net average loss of \$26 per share (see page 529).

April 1.—The United States Treasury estimates 1926 income tax receipts at \$499,660,000, which is \$58,000,000 more than in 1925, when the higher rates were effective.

The operating deficit of the Post Office Department is estimated at \$28,000,000 for fiscal year 1926.

April 2.—The United States Veterans Bureau announces that 386,843 former soldiers now hold insurance policies valued at \$1,563,588,221.75, and that paid benefits total \$45,505,686.86.

April 3.—By a consent decree, the proposed \$2,000,000,000 Ward Food Products Corporation "bread trust" is dissolved.

April 10.—A "run" is started in Cuba on the Royal Bank of Canada and other banks, but President Machado personally takes steps to restore confidence.

VI. OTHER OCCURRENCES

March 20.—The Field Museum-Oxford University Mesopotamian Expedition announces discovery of mounds that may cover the "lost city of Opis."

March 24.—Yale University issues student questionnaires as a basis for helping undergraduates in courses of study and for choosing future careers.

Dr. Thomas W. F. Gann, British explorer, discovers ruins in Yucatan of the ancient city of Coba.

April 1.—The *Christian Herald* church census indicates that there are about 47,000,000 church members in the United States, a gain of 800,000 in 1925; there are 16,047,914 Catholics, 8,920,190 of various Methodists, 357,135 Jews (mostly heads of families), 8,397,914 Baptists, 2,561,986 Presbyterians, and 1,164,911 Protestant Episcopalians.

April 2.—A World Archeological Congress is opened at Jerusalem.

The American Association of Immunologists hears a report by Dr. B. J. Olson of Minneapolis on a new anti-toxin for all four types of pneumonia.

April 2-3.—In Calcutta, India, Moslems riot with Arya Samaj Hindus near a mosque.

April 3.—The Vatican Roman Capitol bell is rung in the Holy Saturday chiming at Rome; this is the first time the Vatican has joined the celebration since the loss of temporal power in 1870.

April 5.—Harvard Student Council recommends splitting Harvard into colleges along the lines of Oxford and Cambridge and dealing more effectively with non-assimilable elements in the student body.

April 7.—Capt. George H. Wilkins returns by airplane to Fairbanks, Alaska, from Point Barrow after flying with pilot Carl B. Eielson to a point 73 degrees 30 seconds north.

The Matthew W. Stirling expedition for exploration of the unknown interior of Dutch New Guinea sails for Sourabaya from Batavia, Java.

April 8.—The Protestant Episcopal Church elects delegates to the Lausanne World Conference on Faith and Order in August 1927; Bishops Brent and Manning and Chancellor Zabriskie will go as members of the Continuation Committee, while Bishop Edward L. Parsons heads the seven elected delegates.

April 9.—At Brea and San Luis Obispo, Union Oil Company tank fires cause about \$10,000,000 damage.

April 10.—Dr. William Berryman Scott is awarded the Hayden Memorial gold medal for scientific achievement.

April 11.—The oil tanker *Gulf of Venezuela* burns at her dock in Port Arthur, Texas, and twenty-five men are killed.

Yale University announces the gift of \$1,000,000 for an art museum.

The New York Times determines that twenty-three out of thirty-two State Labor Federations have declared in favor of prohibition modification; nine have taken no formal action, but three are prevailingly dry in membership.

April 14.—The Amundsen airship *Norge* sails for Leningrad on an Arctic expedition which started at Rome and halted in England and Sweden.

VII. OBITUARY RECORD

March 15.—Maj. Gen. Joseph Prentice Sanger, U. S. A., retired, 85. . . . Brig. Gen. John Bacon McDonald, U. S. A., retired, 67. . . . Rev. John Young Aitchison, Chicago Baptist, 57. . . . Sir Philip Watts, noted English naval architect, 79.

March 16.—R. Harold Paget, editor of the "Outline of Christianity," 50.

March 17.—Rear Adm. Frank Edmund Beatty, U. S. N., retired, 73. . . . Gen. Alexei Alexeivitch Brusiloff, Russian cavalry leader in the war, 74. . . . Walter Irving Badger, Massachusetts lawyer, 67. . . . Col. Algernon S. Reaves, Colorado veteran of Spanish-American war, 86. . . . James H. Ferries, widely known Populist, 76.

March 18.—Col. John C. Coolidge, father of the President, 81. . . . Samuel Greene Murphy, banker, of New York and San Francisco, 89. . . . Brig. Gen. Peter Dumont Vroom, U. S. A., retired, 83.

March 19.—Darius Baker, former Rhode Island Supreme Court Justice, 81. . . . Peter Golden, Irish actor and Sinn Feiner, 46. . . . Charles Verner, English comedian, 78. . . . Edwin Bellows, Chicago text-book publisher.

March 20.—Dowager Queen Louise of Denmark, 74. . . . Charles G. M. Thomas, public-utility expert, 59. . . . Randal Morgan, Philadelphia gas company lawyer and executive, 72.

March 21.—Dr. Alfred Dwight Foster Hamlin, noted architect, 70. . . . Thomas W. Loyless, Georgia editor. . . . Sir Bradford Leslie, builder of bridges in Bengal, 94.

March 22.—Mrs. Elizabeth Bartlett Granniss, editor and reformer, 85.

March 23.—Middleton Smith Borland, lawyer, 54. . . . Fritz Glogauer, founder of Chicago *Abendpost*, a German daily, 68.

March 24.—Mrs. Gertrude Stevens Rice, charity leader, 84. . . . Dr. Albion Small, University of Chicago sociologist, 71. . . . James F. O'Donnell, Illinois publisher and Democratic politician, 62.

March 25.—Dr. Henry Moffat, of Yonkers, N. Y., former Princeton athlete, 70.

March 26.—Maj. Gen. Jesse Matlock Lee, U. S. A., retired, noted Indian fighter, 82. . . . Franz Kneisel, the violinist and conductor, 61. . . . Constantin Fehrenbach, former German Chancellor, 74.

March 27.—George Hawley Hallowell, Boston decorative artist, 55. . . . Dr. Julius Rosenstirn, San Francisco surgeon, 76. . . . Dr. Agnes Smith Lewis, archeologist, 93. . . . George Shima, of California, Japanese "potato king," 38.

March 28.—Louis Philippe Robert, Duke of Orleans, pretender to the French throne, 57. . . . Judge William Henry Taylor, of the Vermont Supreme Court, 62. . . . John T. Rich, former Governor of Michigan (1893-97), 85.

March 29.—Mrs. Elizabeth Powell Bond, former dean of Swarthmore College, 85. . . . Oscar Lapham, Rhode Island Civil War veteran, former congressman and lawyer, 88.

March 30.—Johannes Lepsius, German publicist and Near East expert, 67. . . . Benjamin Benton Valentine, former editor of *Puck* (1877-84), 82.

March 31.—Gerald Sinclair Hayward, painter of miniatures, 81. . . . Jacob P. Adler, Yiddish actor and producer, 71. . . . Gen. Angel Flores, Mexican rebel against Huerta and candidate who opposed President Calles.

April 2.—R. Perry Bush, D.D., Boston Universalist and Mason, 70. . . . Robert A. Campbell, Missouri Democrat, 93.

April 4.—August Thyssen, world-known German industrialist, 83. . . . Francis Edwin House, Wisconsin railway president, 70. . . . Judge Albert Davis Bosson, of Boston, 73.

April 5.—Gustave Geffroy, noted French writer and liberal art critic, 71.

April 6.—Wood Fosdick, Cincinnati Civil War veteran, 87. . . . Sir John McLeavy Brown, British Far East expert and diplomat, 84. . . . Baron Nobushiga Hozumi, President of Japanese Privy Council, 70. . . . Dr. Franz Klein, Austrian international jurist, 71.

April 7.—Justice Franklin Freeman of Massachusetts Superior Court, 55. . . . Chester Wolcott Lyman, paper manufacturer and electrical student, 64. . . . The Rev. A. J. Chandler, Baptist Civil War veteran of New London, Conn., 81. . . . Julius C. Tournier, research worker. . . . John B. Stoll, Indiana journalist, 83.

April 8.—John Ferguson Weir, painter, first dean of Yale School of Fine Arts, 84. . . . Eugene L. Bertrand, Chicago journalist and editor, 65.

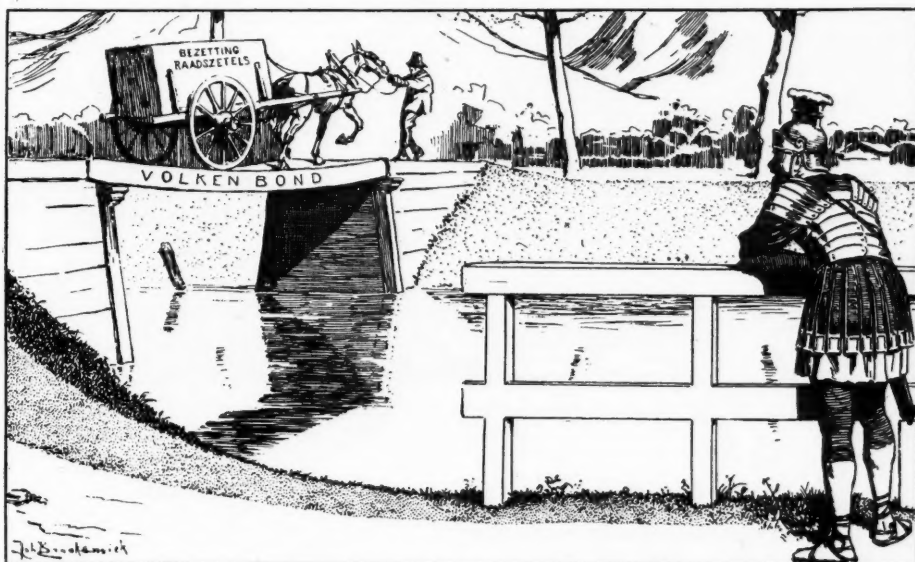
April 9.—Henry Miller, noted actor and producer, 66. . . . Dr. Max D. Kahn, who discovered the diabetic remedy known as intarvin, 39.

April 11.—Luther Burbank, noted plant breeder and experimenter, 77 (see page 470). . . . Rear Adm. Merten Pasha, German naval officer for Turks at Dardanelles, 69.

April 13.—Dr. Edmund Monroe Smith, noted legal historian, of Columbia University, 71. . . . Hjalmar Lundbohm, Swedish Arctic pioneer.

April 14.—Otto Stark, Indiana, artist, 67.

EUROPEAN CARTOONS ON CURRENT TOPICS



THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FIASCO

MARS, THE GOD OF WAR: "The bridge is bending. What would happen if I put my weight on it?"
From *De Groene Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



IS IT DRAMA, OR A TRAGEDY?

FRANCE: "At least save the child!"
From *Charivari* (Paris, France)

[The continued decline in the value of the French franc is one of the outstanding facts in international trade and finance. Against a normal value of 19 cents before the war, it had fallen to 3.36 cents on April 13. Meanwhile French statesmen, and French politicians, appear helpless]



GOOD-BYE, PEACE!

(No place for a young girl since they got that pre-war spirit)
From the *Western Mail* (Cardiff, Wales)



"THEY SHALL NOT PASS!"

From the *Star* (London, England)

WE HAVE gathered together on these two facing pages a number of European cartoons relating especially to Sir Austen Chamberlain, Britain's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He was a

leading figure at the League meeting in March, and, with Mussolini, is the outstanding figure in present-day European statesmanship. Cartoons relating to Italy's dictator will be found on following pages.



WHO THREW THAT STONE?

The German, or the Frenchman?

From the *News & Mercury* (Birmingham, England)



INTERNATIONAL WOMAN'S DAY IN GENEVA

From *Izvestia* (Moscow, Russia)

[The Council of the League opened on March 8, which was widely observed as International Woman's Day. The Russian cartoonist draws Chamberlain, Briand, Stresemann, and the Japanese delegate in attitude and costume not entirely complimentary to those statesmen.]



"SIR AUSTEN"

A friendly caricature by Low in his series drawn weekly for the *New Statesman* (London, England)



THREE GLIMPSES OF THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY

From the *Star* (London, England)

[It is interesting to note that this rather bitter caricature of Sir Austen Chamberlain is the work of the same artist who drew the portrait reproduced in our first column. The two were, however, published in different London papers]



SIR AUSTEN IN TROUBLE AGAIN

From the *Herald* (London, England)



THE KNIGHT RETURNS

THE LADY: "Well, did you kill that dragon Intrigue?"
SIR AUSTEN: "No, Lady, but I've made another appointment with him for September."

From the *Express* (London, England)



THE GOOD BROTHER FROM THE WEST

UNCLE SAM (with gigantic strengthening of the American air force in one hand and new credit for the navy in the other): "Boys, wait half a jiffy. I am coming. I am always ready for the disarmament conferences!"

From Kladderadatsch (Berlin, Germany)



THE GERMAN SEAT IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COUNCIL

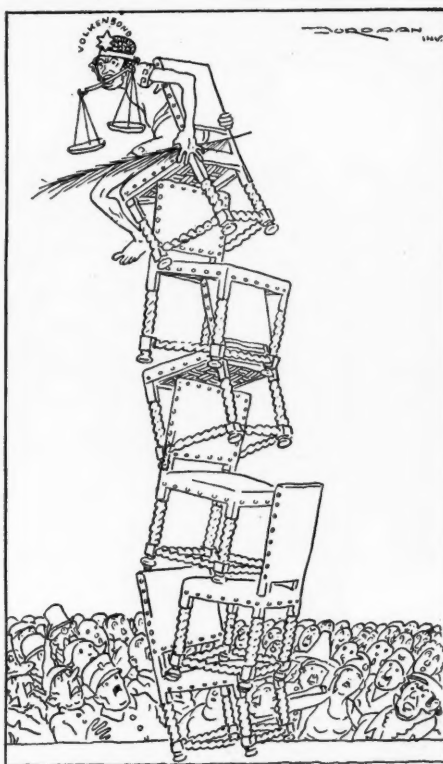
From Kikeriki (Vienna, Austria)



UNSUCCESSFUL CHEATING AT GENEVA

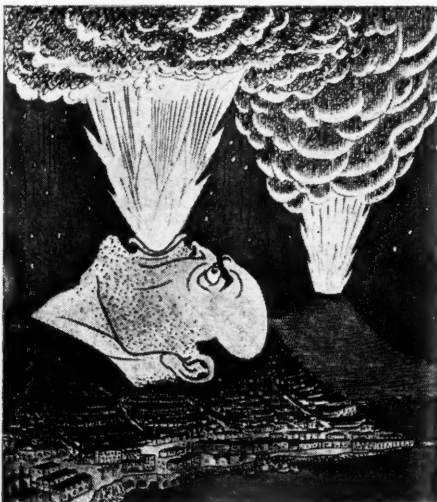
From Kladderadatsch (Berlin, Germany)

[The players are Briand, Chamberlain, and Stresemann]



THE CHAIR TRICK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ACROBAT

From De Groene Amsterdammer (Amsterdam, Holland)



VESUVIUS MUSSOLINI

"Poor Italy! Always so liable to volcanic outbreaks!"
From Simplicissimus (Munich, Germany)



AND EUROPE LAUGHS

MUSSOLINI: "Corpo di Bacco! I believe I have burned my tongue!"

From Kladderadatsch (Berlin, Germany)



THE FENCING MASTER

Whoever wants a lesson may step forward!

From Il 420 (Florence, Italy)



IL DUCE—MUSSOLINI

[The clown juggles crown and scepter, while pocketing the real King of Italy]

From Simplicissimus (Munich, Germany)



MODERN DIPLOMACY

AUSTRIA: "We are very angry over the matter! . . ."
MUSSOLINI: "All right! I will overlook it this time; but don't let it happen again!"

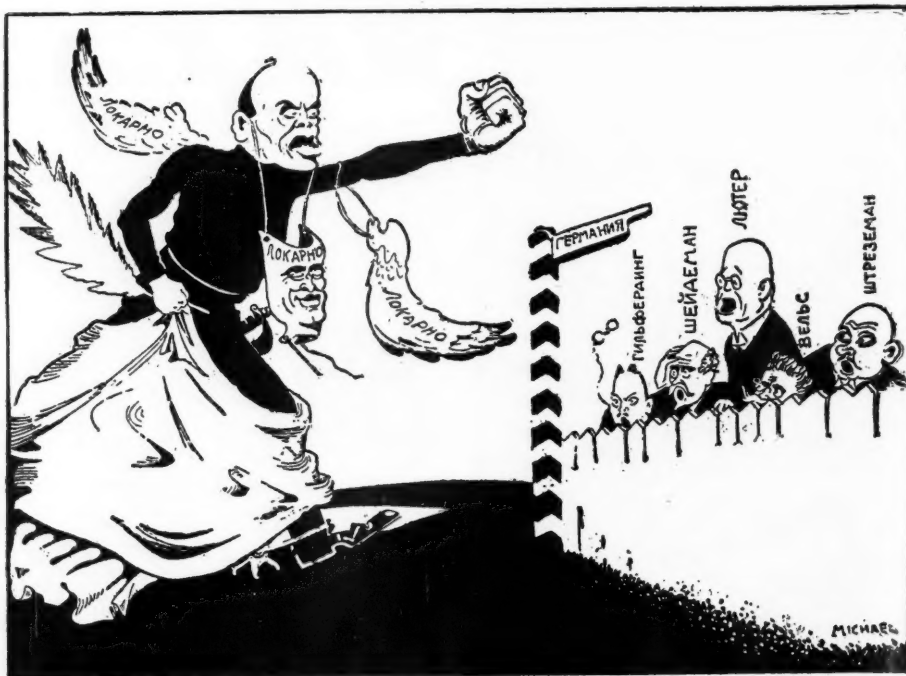
From Der Gots (Vienna, Austria)



CONCERT OF GREAT POWERS PLAYING THE "DISARMAMENT" SYMPHONY

(America holding the dollars, the sword, the notes and debts)

From *Pravda* (Moscow, Russia)



MUSSOLINI'S ATTACK ON GERMANY—THE LOCARNO MASK IS OFF

From *Pravda* (Moscow, Russia)

AMERICA, AND THE WORLD

BY P. W. WILSON

(Former Member of Parliament; for twenty years on the staff of the *London Daily News*)

IT IS one century and a half since there was signed at Philadelphia the Declaration of Independence.

They who signed the Declaration were subjects of His Majesty, King George III. But, sitting as subjects, they rose to their feet as citizens. The ink dried. But the Declaration of Independence was not ratified except in blood.

Few and poor were the citizens of those thirteen colonies. Remote was their act from the center of that stage on which had been shed the limelight of history. And the prophet would have been counted crazy who then foretold that out of so modest a hall of fame would emerge this Union of forty-eight sovereign States, occupying a territory that spreads continuous from ocean to ocean, wherein dwells a nation surpassing one hundred million souls, the richest in its resources of any nation that is or ever has been on this planet.

If those colonists declared their independence of Great Britain, it was because the Britain of that day had become to them a symbol of privilege—hereditary, social, ecclesiastical and intellectual. It was privilege that was the enemy to be fought—the unfair advantage enjoyed by the few over the many.

In order to be rid of privilege, the United States became a republic; her churches are free churches; her schools are free schools; and from her universities, her colleges, her legislatures, her judiciary, her civil service and her federal, State, and municipal executives, there has been eliminated in law and largely in practice, every test, whether racial, social, or sectarian.

The Declaration of Independence was thus the birth, not of one nation alone but of many nations. The War of the Revolution was universal. The Delaware, crossed by George Washington, is everywhere. The Yorktown of Civic Inequality is under perpetual siege, and one by one its outposts surrender to the assaults of Freedom.

In the year 1776, not one republic of importance could be found anywhere except in Switzerland. The entire world was a series of monarchies. To-day, monarchy has either disappeared from the earth, or, where it survives, has become or is becoming a hereditary presidency.

First to be liberated was France, whence the dynasties of Bourbon and Bonaparte have successively disappeared. From Germany, the Hohenzollerns are exiled. From Austria-Hungary, the Hapsburgs have vanished. Russia has obliterated the Romanoffs; China, the Manchus; Turkey, the Sultans; India, the Great Mogul.

Over Japan still reigns a Mikado. But Japan herself is transformed. It is not the old Japan of the Samurai and the feudal clans. It is a Japan where public opinion is heard in parliament and the press.

So with Italy. The House of Savoy reigns. But, in reigning, it supersedes a score of petty potentates playing at absolute power; and the nation itself is supreme.

And Britain—what of her? It is true that the King and Emperor reigns on a throne unshaken. But in what spirit does he reign? The very word "Empire" is obsolete. And in a commonwealth of nations, autonomous and sovereign, the throne stands as a symbol of union—that kind of symbol which in a republic is expressed by the Stars and Stripes. (In form, Great Britain is a monarchy. In fact, she is a republic.)

The nation whose birth was a Declaration of Independence is thus the first-born of many independent nations. One by one, the republics of Latin-America have declared their independence, and to-day they dwell secure from aggression under the guarantees of the Monroe Doctrine.

Greece has declared her independence of the Turk. And between Greece to the south and Finland to the north, there is to be found to-day a family of nations, all independent of an oppression that had been age-long. That Declaration of Independ-

dence also, though signed in ink, was sealed in blood. And to that sacrifice, brave men, enrolled under the Stars and Stripes, contributed in life and limb.

By the Declaration of Independence, democracy was announced as a faith. In the Constitution of the United States, the faith was translated into fact. That fact was the federated sovereignty of the people.

As with the Declaration of Independence, so with the Constitution—at first it was unique, but to-day the exception has become the rule.

To lands so diverse as Canada and Brazil, South Africa and Mexico, Australia and India, the principle of federated sovereignty has been applied.

It is a principle discussed in Central America. It is a principle that might have preserved the Austro-Hungarian Empire from extinction, and may yet unite the smaller nations of eastern Europe. It is a principle which, at Geneva, has emerged in a League of Nations—the first Parliament of Man.

Imbedded in the Declaration, may be found the right to vote, the right to speak, the right to worship. In Great Britain, these hundred-and-fifty years have been devoted to winning, extending, and perfecting these rights; claimed by the colonists at Philadelphia. They are rights of which the significance is dawning, slowly and surely, in the East. They are divine rights. And the divine rights of the million are as sacred as those of the monarch.

That the million may be worthier of their divine rights than were the monarchs, is to-day the prayer of every true citizen. It is an anxious prayer. For there are faint or faithless hearts who would have us believe that democracy has failed and that the despot of yesterday must be raised from the dead as the dictator of to-day.

The answer to the prayer is education. And by education is meant not merely the training of an intellectual oligarchy to reign over a realm of illiteracy, but the full development of every citizen, however humble his station and however limited his capacity. Such an education transforms the citizen into the politician and the politician into the citizen. It is the antidote at once to the demagogue and the dictator.

That zeal for education which pervades the United States is infectious. Everywhere the pursuit of happiness is drawing the youth away from the pursuit of territory.

Everywhere, there is a new appreciation of what has been meant by war and what may be achieved by peace.

But the contribution of the United States to the amenities of a civilized existence has been on that account all the more varied and abundant. The telephone, the typewriter, the sewing-machine, the automobile, the moving-picture, the elevator, and a hundred uses of electricity, industrial and domestic, have added new range to life. And a hundred organizations, contained in or allied with the churches, have ministered to the claims of young and old.

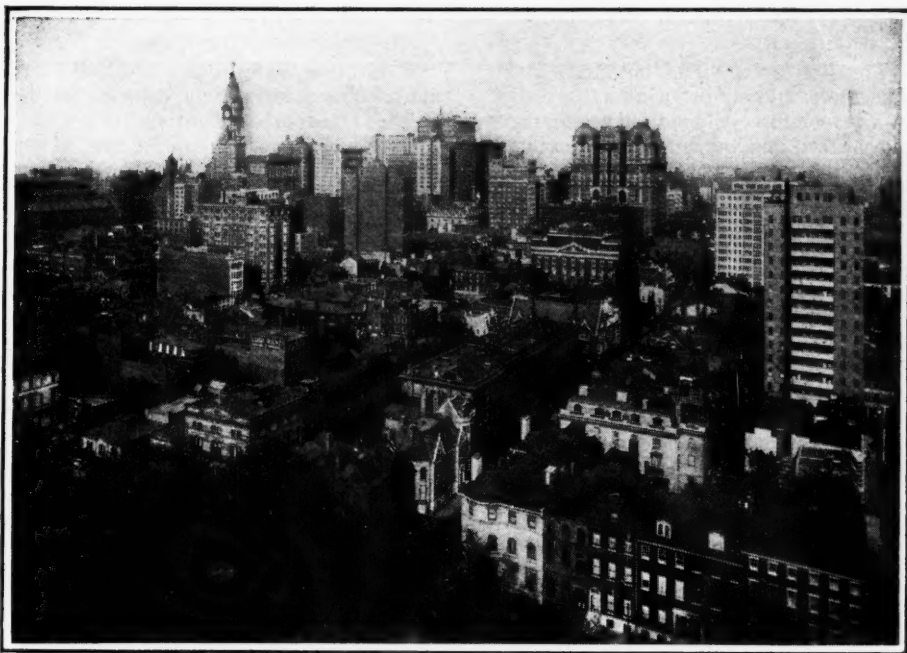
If the United States avoids foreign entanglements, even remaining outside the League of Nations, it means that her influence abroad is still embodied in an idea, not an organization. It is an idea to be defined as private enterprise first, and only direction by the state where private enterprise has failed. Frequently the United States as a government stands aside. Everywhere the citizen of the United States, as an individual, steps in.

Such a citizen serves as judge of international causes at The Hague Court. Such a citizen administers reparations in Berlin. Such a citizen provides for the restoration of Rheims Cathedral and endows a world-wide campaign against disease.

And the nation, as a whole, feeds the hungry in the Near East, founds colleges and schools in Asia, trains and equips a crusade of missionaries, translates and distributes the Scriptures, encourages interests so diverse as archeology, athletics, and hygiene.

It is in the attention to these interests that there lies the path to friendship between diverse races and religions. Predominantly Protestant, the United States welcomes the Catholic and the Jew. In Rome, in Jerusalem, in Constantinople, in Peking, the flag of the United States, when it is flown, is greeted by none save friends. Against her influence, there is and can be no law. If there be criticism, it is that the influence might be more vigorously exerted.

It is a criticism, pertinent indeed to the well-being of the United States herself. Freely she has received. The nation that freely receives can only endure if, as freely, she gives. The United States no longer borrows. She invests, she shares, she endows, she coöperates. And in service and sacrifice lies her salvation from selfishness, cynicism, and decadence.



THE CITY THAT WILLIAM PENN FOUNDED IN 1682, AND NAMED PHILADELPHIA

HISTORIC PHILADELPHIA

BY HARRISON S. MORRIS

I. Landmarks of Stirring Colonial Days

PICTURE a smallish old town of red brick, beside a wide river; with pleasant green trees arching its quiet streets; and unhurried citizens in shad-belly coats and knee-breeches lingering at neighborly door steps, or carrying the weekly market-basket from the stalls on High Street to their comfortable homes. There is a high bank sloping abruptly to the river and up its sides run peak-roofed houses sometimes of red and black brick alternated. A creek, once of pure water, runs off to the Blue Anchor Tavern—where William Penn landed from his long and fateful first voyage. If you know Annapolis of to-day, or Salem in New Jersey, or New Castle in Delaware, you have in them the Philadelphia of 1776, with its perhaps 30,000 inhabitants, its cosy taverns and clean hotels, its abundant markets and its plain old shops.

Within the limited area from the Delaware River to Fourth or Fifth Streets,

which was then the outermost boundary of the city toward the west—indeed, toward the primeval woods—there had appeared during the hundred years of growth many noteworthy buildings, owing their design to English influences, but still of a native character. The materials out of which they were made, the bricks and stone and wood, were produced from the soil, and thus had an appearance and form entirely their own. The size of the beams and the shapes of the metal were limited by the necessities of a new and detached life. Indeed, the whole aspect of the best of these structures, both public and private, was original and striking. They were of no ephemeral fancy; but had their impulse in fresh ideas of beauty, both in body and in ornament. They were the offspring of natural laws in man's development toward taste, and they are thus to-day enduringly handsome, with a sweet and venerable dignity that somehow makes a touching appeal.

Treading among and entering, day by day, these sedately beautiful halls, or living in the comfort of such domestic charm, moved men and women of a character and honor and attainment such as have hardly ever been gathered into one small community. These also owed their origin, and even their dress and manner of thought to English antecedents; but like the buildings they created there was something in them of a different fiber, a better, fresher view of life and of its possibilities. They were no longer satisfied with the old system of government, the old domination of a privileged class. Something in the soil—the wild nature around them, the huge, flowing, free river, the great storms, the electric climate, the bright blue skies, had brought them new thoughts, new desires, new hopes for the development of society, for the help of each other. And as their design in building was different, more beautiful in a newer way than that of the "Old Home" in England, so was their constitution and their philosophy.

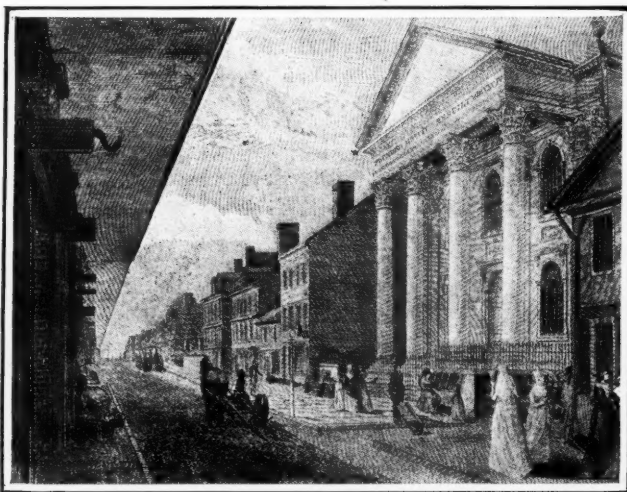
It is thus to such precious traditions and noble names and to such rich old specimens of architectural beauty that we look back in this hundred and fiftieth year of our Independence. These are the conspicuous exhibits in our momentous celebration, and to these we turn in admiration

and devotion, both in memory, and to the actual objects of antiquity which we may still see and touch and enter.

Chief, of course, amongst the historic buildings in Philadelphia, is the State House. To view its venerable length stretching from Fifth to Sixth on Chestnut Street, to let the eye rest on its weathered brick and marble, and so glance up at its white tower of almost naive simplicity is to feel a warmth at the heart. It has almost a pathetic touch both in its restrained charm and in its profound associations. You feel the presence of the ghosts of those great men who met in its lower chamber to give us our Liberty, to make us a nation, to invent a new race. You see in fancy Benjamin Franklin in brown knee-breeches and long-tailed coat, with his hair gathered in a cue behind, pacing up those rugged old steps with Robert Morris in bottle-green small clothes and buckled shoes. You see George Washington in Colonial buff-and-blue approach, with his broad face in serious contemplation of the cause he is to lead; you see Jefferson with perhaps the draft of the Declaration he had written carried in his hand; and you can see the gathering line of Philadelphian statesmen—Willing, Morton, Humphries, Dickinson, who, though they were at first divided on the issue of Liberty, at last came to its acceptance and put it over forever.

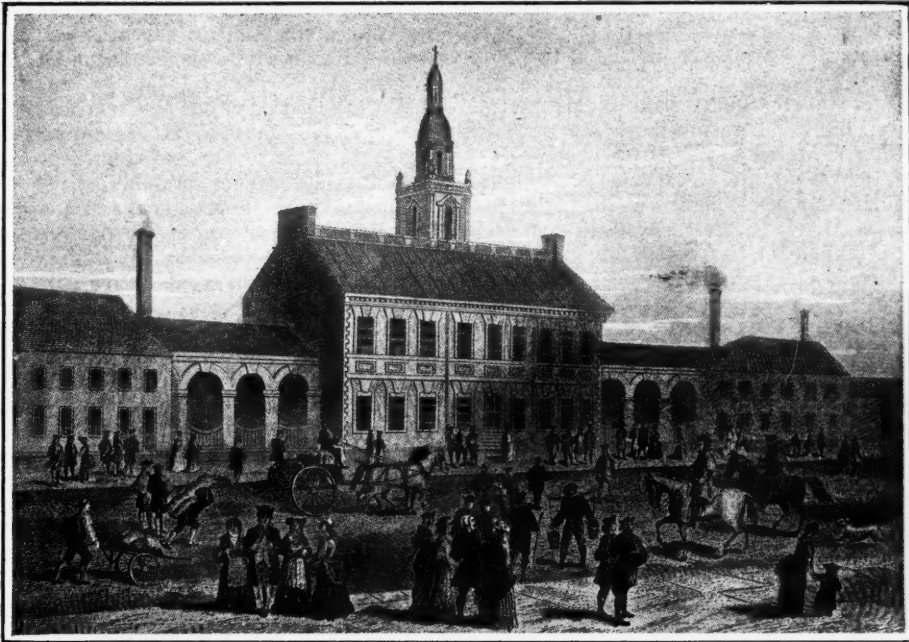
Or, by yourself passing up those sacred steps, you may pause, with reverent head, beside the Liberty Bell, and then emerge into the Square beyond, where, to the East, Colonel Nixon, of the ruddy countenance, read the Declaration from the platform erected by Rittenhouse for the transit of Venus, on July 6, '76.

Only a few steps to the east of the State House, on Chestnut Street, there appears a little, court-like opening between the effrontery of engulfing skyscrapers, and at its end, in the middle of the Square, stands Carpenters Hall. Its design follows the prevailing beauty of the period. It welcomed to its assembly-room the first



MARKET STREET, ONE OF PHILADELPHIA'S MAIN THOROUGHFARES, AS IT APPEARED IN 1800

(It was then known as High Street. At the right is the First Presbyterian Church, the inscription stating that it was founded in 1704 and rebuilt in 1794. In 1820 the congregation moved to another site and the building that is shown here was taken down)



THE STATE HOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1776, NOW KNOWN AS INDEPENDENCE HALL

(Here the Declaration of Independence was signed on July 4, one hundred and fifty years ago, and from its tower the Liberty Bell proclaimed the news. Here also the Continental Congress met in 1775, the Senate and House of Representatives sat from 1792 to 1799, President Washington was inaugurated on March 4, 1793, after his unanimous reelection, and here John Adams, second President of the United States, was also inaugurated. The building was erected as the State House of the province of Pennsylvania, the central part completed in 1734 and the wings in 1740)

Congress of the Colonies, called to meet the emergency of bitter taxation without representation in the British Parliament, and it rang to the eloquence of Patrick Henry, whose demand for liberty or for death, brought him immortal life in the memory of his compatriots.

A few more steps to the East and a turn to the left on Second Street, and the delicately graceful, white spire of Christ Church comes into view, above a stately, simple brick front of elderly charm, rich in ornament yet winningly plain in form. Here Bishop White, the clerical patriot of the Revolution, presided and men of English lineage worshipped. But these were few compared with the unbending Quakers of British descent, who derived their authoritative place in the community from Penn, the Proprietor, and who felt the power and dignity of their position. They resorted for worship to a large Meeting House at Second and High (later, Market) Street, now gone; and to Fifth and Arch Streets, where the visitor to-day may taste of the unction of severity and peace in an echoing

brick-paved yard and a studiously bare interior, full of the stern orthodoxy of five generations of rigid Friends.

Or, turning south from Chestnut at Third Street, you reach the rather decayed, but beautiful in its musty age, square tower and slender white steeple of St. Peter's Church, whose time-encrusted tombs carry the odor of a haughty social sanctity. Or further south and westward on Pine to Ninth Street, and you have in view the formal front in Colonial elegance of the Pennsylvania Hospital with its bronze image of Penn in the green enclosure.

These, as conspicuous examples, will typify the scene in whose vistas our forefathers lived their daily lives and carried on their labors for liberty. They may stand for what is left of the city where the patriots gathered for the right to govern themselves. There were, besides, on the bluffs of the Schuylkill River and in outlying sections in Germantown and elsewhere to the north, peacefully charming, old stone mansions. The German settlers whose piety attached them to Penn, and who came in his wake,

built four-square stone houses on the Main Street of Germantown. In one of these President Washington lived for two summers while the plague raged in the city; here Gilbert Stuart painted his portrait from life, and here, in a much later day lived Elliston Morris and his sister.

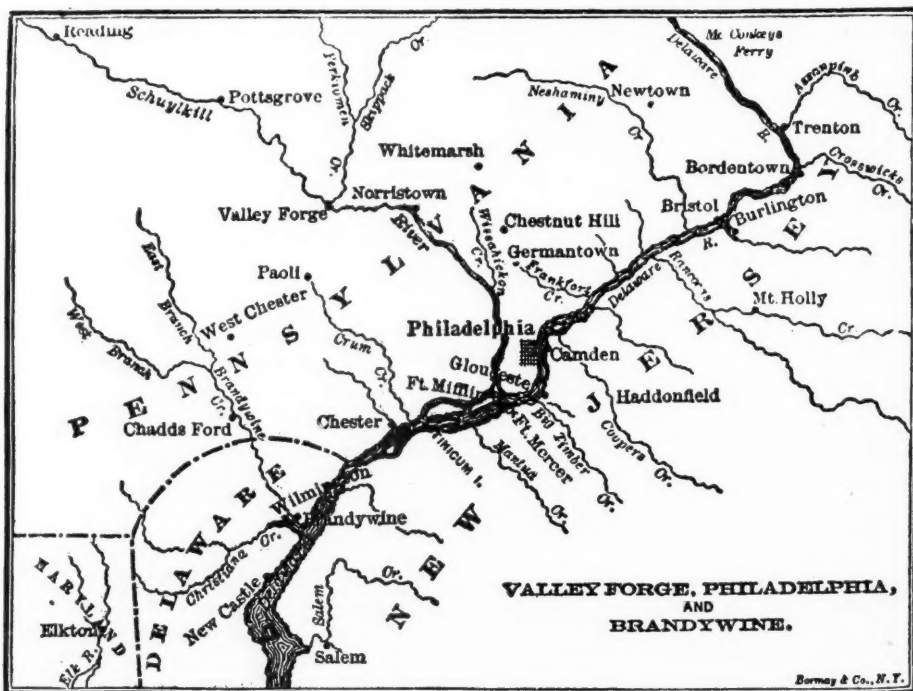
It was opposite Market Square, and on a quiet summer's night of the '50s that Miss Morris thought she heard somebody go through the hall to the dining-room at the rear. She spoke to her brother, who had noticed nothing. Again she felt that someone had entered. He went back and there he saw a small figure in blue-coat and knee-breeches, with a cocked hat in his hand. The little old man spoke. He said he saw the front door standing open and he could not resist the temptation to go in, when as a boy he had been brought by his schoolmate, Parker Custis, to the garden beyond and there they played until called into the room where he now stood by a

grave but kindly gentleman, who gave them refreshments. And this gentlemen, the little old man said, was President George Washington.

Thus the period of our '50s was linked to the 1780's, as some of these old Germantown dwellings of patrician four-squariness link us to the days of Penn himself.

Further to the north lies the strong and shapely stone mansion of the Chews, which stood a fierce cannonade from Washington's artillery in the abortive battle of Germantown in 1777; and all along the three or more miles of Main Street are stone dwellings still haunted by the contemporaries of Washington.

Thus the traveler who seeks the fragrance and the full flavor of his native antiquity, the essence his own amazing history, will find them in the Colonial Spirit that still lingers here, and he may touch and enter and reference these actual relics of the Philadelphia of a hundred and



AN IMPORTANT BATTLEGROUND IN THE REVOLUTION

(Philadelphia was the seat of the Colonial government, and the British fought for it and occupied it. They landed from the Chesapeake Bay, near Elkton, Md., in August, 1777. Washington gave battle at Chadd's Ford, and at Brandywine on September 11 was severely defeated. Defense of Philadelphia was then abandoned, and the British occupied it. On October 4, Washington again gave battle at Germantown, with more success. In December his half-clad army of 11,000 men went into winter quarters at Valley Forge. The British abandoned their Philadelphia occupation in June, 1778, and withdrew to New York. The map also shows McConkey's Ferry, where Washington crossed the Delaware on Christmas Day, 1776, and defeated the Hessians)

fifty years ago. No show of invented attractions, not even of the industrial wealth of the metropolis of to-day, can compare

with the treasures of the olden times which Philadelphia possesses in greater measure than any kindred American city.

II. A Metropolis in the Nineteenth Century

Out of such germs of government came a long tranquillity to the Quaker City, sober and rather drab in its general life, but containing spots of social color as the Friends grew rich and intermarried with the worldly elect. The Dancing Assembly and the Wistar Parties, the Academy of the Fine Arts, founded in 1810, and the convivial State in Schuylkill, a club devoted to dining and fish-house punch, kept the ascetic impulse at bay. Walking the prim old thoroughfares of cobble-stone paving and monotonous red brick, resembling Tennyson's "long, unlovely street," were artists of fame like Gilbert Stuart, Thomas Sully and Charles Willson Peale, who brought to the city a position in the world of art that only once it has again attained. In literature, too, there were moments when it almost led our world. Poe and Whittier and Lowell dwelt there as editors, Boker and Bayard Taylor were natives; and *Sartain's Magazine* and *Graham's* were the favorites in their day.

But on the whole the Quaker City took its cue from the Friends and though the life was plain and good, it was not especially cheerful. Art drifted into desuetude. In the fifties there was hardly any to speak of. Politics were falling into the power of the mob where increasingly they have rested ever since, and sectarian religion ruled the habits of all.

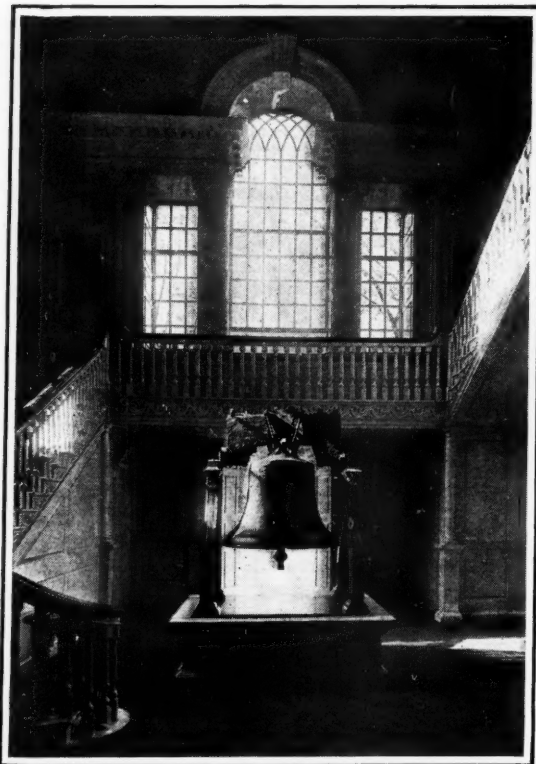
But, mysteriously and spontaneously, out of this negative life there sprang up a wonderful awakening into the sense of beauty, the desire for art and taste. It took form in the Centennial Exposition, which celebrated our hundred years as a free nation, in 1876. The impulse was carried on by some elevated gentlemen of culture and public-spirit such as the quiet Quaker stock and its descendants could bring forward when the need arrived. John Welsh was foremost in the work, later Minister to England and the benign influence to whom we owe our unique Fair-

mount Park, with the virgin beauty of the Wissahickon. He gathered to him such leaders as Morton McMichael, Joseph Wharton, Henry C. Lea and others, a strong energetic group with vision and unselfishness, much in contrast to the political powers that now control our destinies. And in John Sartain was found a spirit ready made for the accouching of our new birth of art, the American renaissance of beauty and taste, which was to be brought forth not only for the drab Quaker City but for the whole nation. He arranged for the first time in America a collection of European art which spurred to action a latent desire already stimulated by William Hunt, who had brought back news of the Barbison School from France. Then, too, the houses erected by foreign nations on the grounds of the Centennial, opened the eyes of the untraveled to the beauties of Old-World architecture. Especially was this so with the half-timbered house, still standing, contributed by England. Here was something we had never dreamed of in angular and red-brick Philadelphia. The architects, like the artists, were ripe for change, and thus they



THE FAMOUS CHEW MANSION, GERMANTOWN

(In this stone house of Judge Chew, British troops took refuge during the battle of Germantown, on October 4, 1777; and the building was bombarded by Washington's troops under Sullivan and Wayne)



THE LIBERTY BELL AS THE VISITOR SEES IT NOW IN INDEPENDENCE HALL

(The bell was cast in England, for the State House of Pennsylvania. But it was cracked and recast in Philadelphia in 1753, with its prophetic inscription, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." It was this bell, on July 4, one hundred and fifty years ago, which rang out the news of American independence)

met the appeal for beauty, freshness and new utilities with an outburst of imitations of the Queen Anne dwelling so opportunely brought before them. Our romantic and lovely suburban stretches of creek and meadow and undulant hills, began to bloom with the new ideas; and the impulse has never slackened since that day—our out-of-town design in domestic beauty and comfort has not been surpassed, and it has spread throughout the country and is still on the way.

The exhibits from lands then mostly unknown to untraveled America were also a revelation. The wish for light, for education, was caught from remote Peru and nearer Germany, from the brass-

work of Austria and the pottery of England and Japan. Europe, Asia, South America exposed their treasure for the first time to the slowly developing intellect of the United States. It was an awakening of momentous importance to us. The public mind was ready for it, somewhat starved as it was by a nonconformist fear of beauty, and it drank in the impressions with eager joy.

The native exhibits, also, were a lesson in self-conscious pride. The huge, upright Corliss engine, which set the whole colossal show going, opened our eyes to our own abilities. Nothing like it had been imagined; it emerged out of a work-a-day blank and stirred the imagination to lengths which vibrate to this day. It was the first of our mammoth inventions—new applications of old ideas—that have renewed the world. It seems almost, in the vista of the past, like the little old grandmother of the Brooklyn bridges; the irrigation dams, the potash plants, the floating fortresses of our later day. It brought in the dawn of our mechanical supremacy.

But America got more than it gave out of the Centennial Exposition. That event marked for us a hundred years of liberty and it emphasized our growth of self-valuation. But we were very ignorant of the world outside us. We had no deep traditions; as Walt Whitman used to

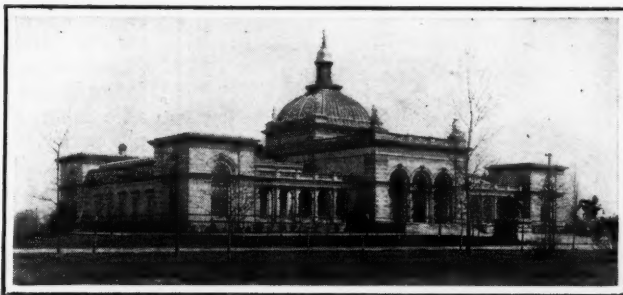


A STAGE COACH OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

(These omnibuses *de luxe* ply between Philadelphia and New York, over much the same route that Franklin, Washington, and other nation-builders must have taken in Colonial and Revolutionary times. This particular conveyance covers the ninety miles between the two Wanamaker stores in less than four hours)

say, it would take generations of us to acquire the processes of Old World artisans. We Americans have excelled Europe in sanitary appliances, in domestic comforts, in utilities—but there are perfections of art, of music, of drama, of diction which we are only now approaching.

In 1876 we were a people largely of British origin who had formed an organic race. What we knew and did was in a great degree imitative or acquired.



MEMORIAL HALL, IN FAIRMOUNT PARK, WHICH FORMED PART OF THE CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION IN 1876

(The building was erected by the State of Pennsylvania and the city of Philadelphia as a permanent memorial of the centennial year of American independence. It housed the art exhibits in the exposition of fifty years ago, and then became a museum of industrial art)

III. Does the Present Forecast the Future?

In 1926 the millions of our people have doubled or trebled. We have not yet absorbed and Americanized the myriads who have immigrated to us. They are in the making. They have colored the solid opinions, the ethical standards, the commercial aims implanted by those old Quaker patriots and descendants of British types of 1776. But only when they are amalgamated, in the second and third and future generations, to a unit like that of the society of the Centennial period, can there arise a truly native characteristic, an art and an artisanship which will be stamped with the type—American.

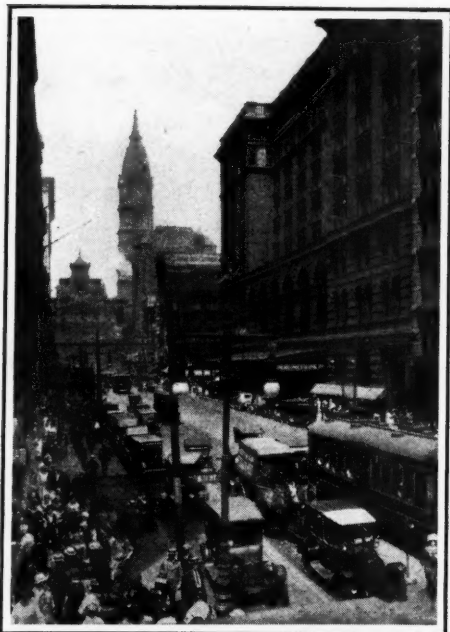
Philadelphia has felt this change profoundly. It was the most American of our cities in the Centennial year, and this helped to give that epochal event part of its deep effect on the race, on the country. But the industrial growth of the city itself and of the outlying towns which have become contiguous manufacturing centers, like Chester, Wilmington, Bristol, Camden, bordering the Delaware River with great plants for twenty miles and physically attaching themselves to the old city, has brought in masses of aliens who know not Joseph and who keep the habits, the thoughts, the religion of their European or African or Asian origin. They are the material out of which a nation can be made—they are not yet of the native fabric.

Thus the sweet old honor and dignity, the correctness of dress and manners, the pure relations of the sexes, have mostly gone glimmering amongst us. But chief of

the evils that now beset us is the political degeneracy into which we have fallen. This to be sure, owes some of its license to the apathetic non-resistance of the descendants of those hardy souls who laid their lives on the altar of liberty by signing the Declaration of Independence. Such heroism is sadly departed from amongst us. Perhaps because the race has grown soft, but more likely because its conscience has permitted it—or the absence of it has inclined it—to take the subtle emoluments offered by the “political machine,” in the form of offices, in opportunity for profit, and in social power.

But the conspicuous cause of our deplorable condition on the side of government is the old one which attacks every American city; the Political Boss. Everybody knows how the rotten system is built up. It is conceived by a rough and unscrupulous gangster who bids, without chance of loss, for city contracts. His power to employ is used to control votes. The human material he works in is usually foreign. These sometimes innocent creatures have to live. And so the strangle-hold grows, until it eats out the probity of the body politic and snatches at the conscience of the so-called old family. It has less trouble with the newly rich—the second generation.

More than any American city, Philadelphia is the victim of this sort of abuse. The alleged respectables do not go into politics, they do not take office, they will not elect the low-browed contractor to their clubs. But they are subtly and covertly



CHESTNUT STREET, IN THE HEART OF PHILADELPHIA'S BUSINESS SECTION

in alliance with him and they thus prevent the ballot from overthrowing him, as it righteously would if it had its own way.

But this, while a present danger which is allowing the "gang" to use up our civic income on gaudy and spectacular and quite unnecessary ventures in juicy contracts, is perhaps a passing illness of democracy—a growing pain—which will be cured when the righteous spirit returns to us. Such it must do before long, or we shall go the way of lost cities. The New Zealander will be roosting on the (almost welcome) ruins of our \$27,000,000 City Hall. No human object can long lift itself by its own bootstraps; there must come a revolution of sentiment, a call to honor some day, and the floating débris will be carried away by the flood of indignation.

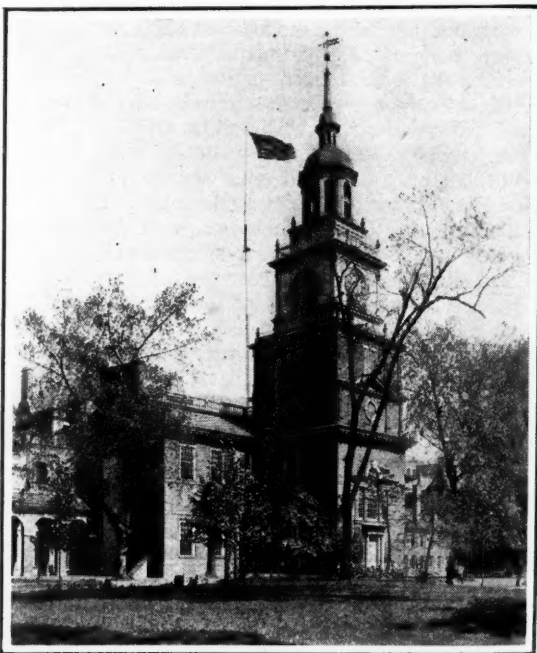
When this happens where shall we stand? What will Philadelphia do for itself? What is its future?

By nature, its situation on one of the great rivers of the world, in a

region well-watered, lending itself to cheap transportation, adapted by climate for masses of population—by every gift of God foreordained for man's abilities and profitable labor, should advance to unimagined prosperity. Only the "dead hand" now laid heavily on it can hold it back. The very men and corporations who may thus be described would find abounding profit were they to let trade follow its natural channels unhindered by selfishness, and lack of vision, and by impeding politics.

But, notwithstanding these; in spite of them, indeed; Philadelphia makes a large, in some cases the largest, contribution to the world's manufactures.

It is confidently printed that "the city produces a greater number of articles necessary for twentieth century convenience and comfort than any American municipality." This is made manifest by its record for street cars, locomotives, carpets, cotton goods, hosiery, cigars, cigarets, hats, shoes, saws, bricks, confectionery, sugar, buttons, radios, victrolas, glazed kid, ships and boats; and the record boastfully closes with the brave words, "Philadelphia is the ice-cream capital of the United



INDEPENDENCE HALL, AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY
(The principal patriotic shrine in this anniversary year)



© Rau Studios

THE NEW BRIDGE ACROSS THE DELAWARE RIVER, CONNECTING PHILADELPHIA AND CAMDEN, N. J., WHICH WILL BE IN SERVICE IN JULY

(This is the longest suspension span in the world—1,750 feet. The longest span of the several East River bridges, from New York to Brooklyn, is 1,600 feet)

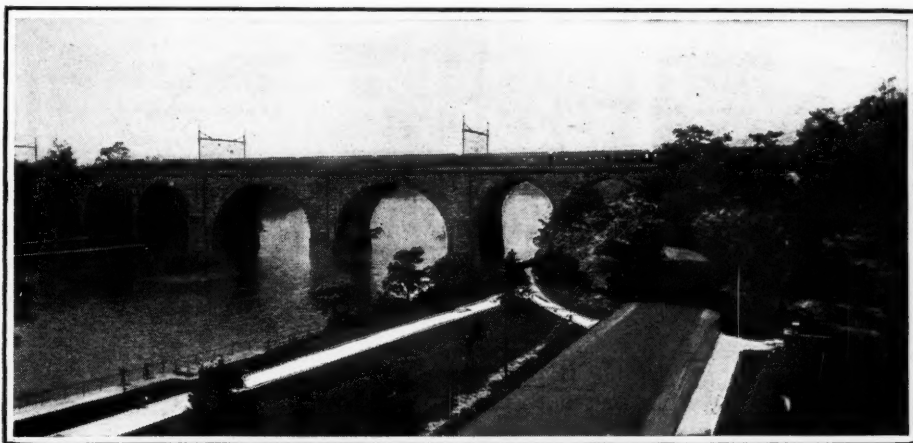
States." Nor must we omit the humble but necessary false tooth from such triumphs of manufacture.

But of intellectual ideals, what prospect? These have ebbed and flowed through the century and a half we have now reached. Are they to expand, are they to lead in the future? Unless they do, the text chosen by Dr. Weir Mitchell for an inscription on a convention hall will be fulfilled—"Without vision the people perish."

Here is Benjamin Franklin's Philosophical Society, and the Pennsylvania Historical Society, both rich in relics and in records of our birth and life. Even into these has crept the prevailing taint. Money from the insidious political powers, or hope of it, has left its traces. The same symptoms overtakes the University and the Academy of the Fine Arts. All our intellectual institutions have drifted into the

hands of one small group whose way is the very fallacious one of supporting the fine old aims of their founders by subsidies and appropriations from City and State with the consequent results. What is to be done? No one can tell. The return to reason and correctness will come some day. How or when cannot be predicted.

Perhaps a reaction from overfeeding, diet too rich, plethora of wealth from a golden soil; iron, coal, oil, natural gas—perhaps when sated with all these we shall turn again to the things of the spirit, to simplicity and to the enjoyment of learning and of quiet pursuits. Perhaps we are already preparing for ourselves a refuge in far vistas, away from mobs and cluttered streets. Up to the north lies a region of pastoral beauty with no match in Nature's plan; out to the west are idyllic valleys, Arcadian hills; growing in suburban inven-



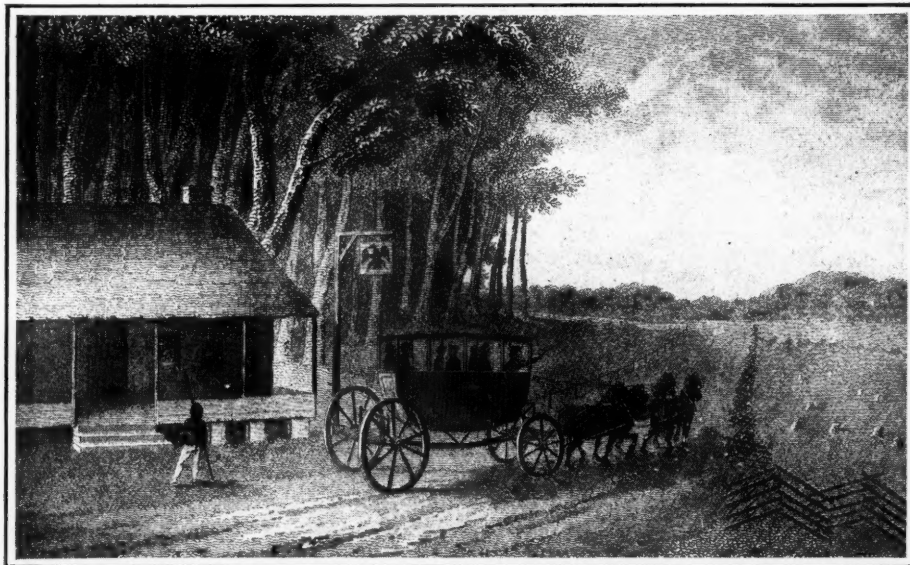
A SCENE IN FAIRMOUNT PARK, THE GREAT PLEASURE GROUND OF PHILADELPHIA

(The winding Schuylkill River divides the park, which extends for miles along both sides of the stream. There are 2,000 acres in Fairmount Park, and 1,000 more in the Wissahickon Valley extension. In recent years it has furnished an excellent drive for motorists)

tion and loveliness and the day is at the brink when a door will open and we shall have the sea, almost, at our feet. The bridge across the Delaware is finished. It will be ready for traffic in July. Then the obstructing Delaware River will no longer stand in the way of a free flight and open wings over all South Jersey. Only a very keen vision can picture what this will mean to Philadelphia—to the greater metropolis which takes in part of Delaware, many outlying miles to the south and a whole metropolitan area to the north and west. It will mean expansion in home-making and owning in wide vistas and with growing beauty and taste and color. Already we have broken away from the old dull forms of house-building in monotonous rows. These were, in their day novel and tempting enough to the dweller in tenements of other towns. But we have learned a better way, and it has decorated already the entire outer circle of the city with delightful, comfortable, homelike houses full of a varied color, outside in tiles, and bricks and tints, and inside in tones of wall and woodwork, with conveniences inconceivable to a French-

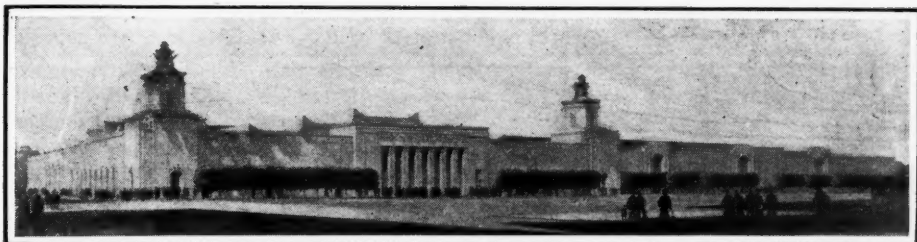
man even of Paris, or an English workman of any industrial center. Indeed, a simple house provided with Philadelphia furniture, plumbing, glass and utensils, is an exhibition in itself in this anniversary year.

Out into New Jersey will this movement run and on to the sea. Already it has begun. New forms of transport, the motor and the bus; new centers of amusement and shopping that march with the phalanx of building, have brought all this to us as a significant manifestation toward the spread of home life, toward the hegira from the centered city; and when Philadelphia's thoroughfares are mended—a shocking need—and her ways to and from the new bridge sanely provided—though seeming at the present moment in hopeless confusion—we shall perhaps solve our problem, through a return to home, and to homely wisdom, and the collective sentiment of the family, and then we may take on another renaissance—that of a civic new birth, to mark the hundred and fiftieth, as we did the hundredth, anniversary of our Declaration of Independence.



A "STAGE WAGON" ON THE LANCASTER PIKE, NEAR PHILADELPHIA—FROM A PRINT MADE IN 1824

(This is Spread Eagle Inn, at the Fourteenth Mile Stone)



THE PALACE OF LIBERAL ARTS AND MANUFACTURES, ONE OF THE MAIN BUILDINGS OF PHILADELPHIA'S SESQUI-CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION

(The visitor in Philadelphia last month would have seen this structure with the front still somewhat obscured by scaffolding; so we substitute here the architect's drawing)

THE SESQUI-CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION

PREPARATION for a great international exposition may be likened to a mountain tide which bears with it representation of all that is significant in the march of events. Thus the tide of the Sesqui-Centennial International Exposition, which will open in Philadelphia on June 1 and close December 1, is reaching its crest as the time for its formal opening draws near.

Extensive exhibits and programs will be devoted to art, science, religion, education, business, and sports, which will bring together leaders in those fields from all over the country.

The Sesqui-Centennial Exposition has the deepest historic significance in the history of such celebrations. The signing of the Declaration of Independence, signifying the birth of a new nation dedicated to political and religious freedom, will have its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary marked by an event which will have its own effect in projecting new energies and influences in the future.

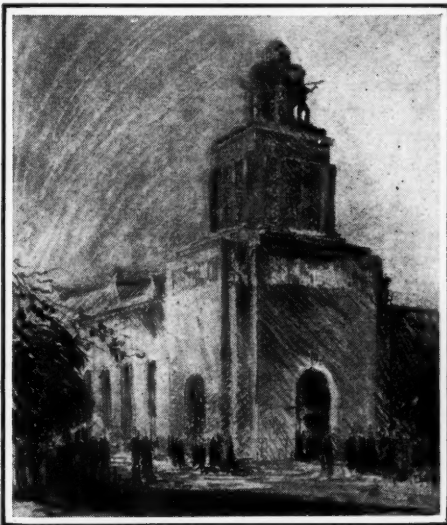
The attractions of the Exposition will include displays illustrating phases of man's activity in

the four quarters of the globe. Those influences which have raised the standard of living and which have contributed to the present stage of civilization will have outstanding places in the scheme of the Sesqui-Centennial.

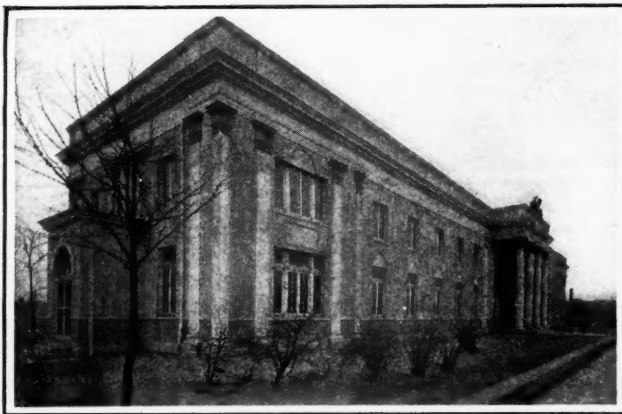
It is the aim of the Department of Fine Arts to prepare exhibits which will stimulate public interest in the graphic and plastic arts and serve to emphasize the need of an interest in aesthetics in every day life. In general, the exhibition will be divided into four sections. The most extensive division will include an exhibition of contemporary American works, which will be the most im-

portant showing of its kind held since the San Francisco Exposition in 1915. For some months a number of regional advisory committees of artists have been making plans for this section. The chairmen of these committees include Edward W. Redfield, Philadelphia; Philip L. Hale, Boston; Gari Melchers, New York; Edmund C. Tarbell, Washington; George Obersteuffer, Chicago; and Arthur F. Mathews, San Francisco.

Another group is being arranged to in-



THE ARCHITECT'S TREATMENT OF CORNERS IN THE GREAT EXPOSITION BUILDINGS



THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING

(Which already houses the organizing and directing staff of the exposition)

clude a contemporary international section, in many cases under foreign governmental supervision. Artists from Spain, Japan, France, Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Persia, and Egypt have promised contributions. Preparations are being made to have other nations represented in this section. At least three or four galleries will be devoted to the paintings of modern Russian artists.

The third group will be a historical section in which the contribution of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania to the development of painting and sculpture since the signing of the Declaration of Independence will be evident. The last division will be a non-contemporary showing.

Textiles, wrought metal work, and ceramics are also among the art treasures promised for the Palace of Fine Arts. Of particular interest will be the print department, in which will be installed an etching press, a lithographic press, and a wood-block printing press. Artists of established reputation will come to the Exposition as its guests and will make etchings, lithographs, and wood engravings from subjects within the Exposition grounds or from the city of Philadelphia. These will be created in a glass-enclosed studio under the eyes of the public, with the purpose of demonstrating the possibility of a man of average means possessing pictures of real aesthetic value, either in black-and-white or in colors.

The standard for the entire musical program of the Sesqui-Centennial has been set with the Philadelphia Orchestra's acceptance of the invitation to become the official

Exposition orchestra. Leopold Stowkowski, conductor of the orchestra, has been appointed director of the program; and at his request invitations are being extended to American and European guest conductors, each of whom will conduct for two weeks. Mr. Stowkowski will lead the orchestra the last two weeks in September.

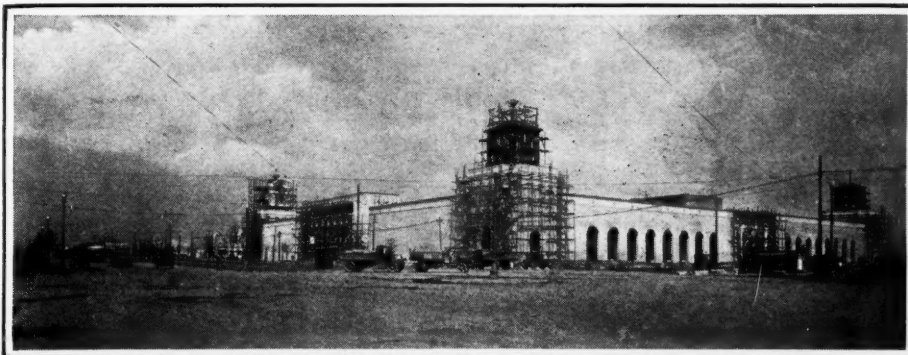
The orchestra will play two concerts weekly in the Auditorium for a period of sixteen weeks. Among the other con-

ductors who may be heard are: Frederick Stock, Chicago; Fritz Reiner, New York; Walter Rothwell, Los Angeles; Alexander Smallens, Philadelphia; Arthur Rodzinsky, Warsaw; Walter Damrosch, New York; Thaddeus Rich, Philadelphia; and Wilhelm Furtwaengler, Berlin and Leipzig.

Choral work for the Exposition will be centered in a great chorus of 5000 voices which is being organized rapidly under the direction of the Sesqui-Centennial Music Committee. The "Festival Chorus" will be heard upon special occasions during the six months of the celebration. The first of these will be the concert in the new Stadium on June 23 and 24, and the second on Independence Day when President Coolidge will be the guest of the city.

Upon the latter occasion the Festival Chorus will unite with the "Chorus of the States," also being organized. It will be composed of trained singers from several hundred cities representing all the States of the Union.

Religious activities incident to the Sesqui-Centennial are in the hands of a committee composed of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, whose avowed purpose it is to present a non-sectarian program. It is hoped that, instead of a number of religious conventions being scheduled, a single Congress of Religions may be arranged for September. The selection of speakers and their appointment to cooperating religious bodies for Sunday services during the Exposition will be arranged by the Religious Committee, which has also undertaken to have fifteen-minute services broadcast daily from the Auditorium.



THE PALACE OF AGRICULTURE AT THE SESQUI-CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION, BEFORE THE SCULPTORS' SCAFFOLDING WAS REMOVED

Space at the entrance to the Palace of Exposition has been secured for an exhibit which will portray the value of religion and its contribution to civilization. Owing to the limited space available there, the various denominations will have additional exhibits in their local headquarters.

An exposition is always educational in the general purpose which it fulfills throughout the length and breadth of its scope. However, education *per se* will be housed in a building of its own, which will be a sort of world training school in which teachers from every part of the country and abroad will find the best methods and principles of education and the latest expressions of achievement.

"Visual education," a new departure in the field, will be an important part in the showing. In this section, training through objects, pictures, "movies," and graphic means will be demonstrated in unusual fashion. Models, photographs, and actual work in textile and shop projects will be represented. There will be reproductions of open-air schools and exhibitions of many systems relating to the mental and physical development of children, special education in arts and crafts, and demonstrations of the care of defective children. Exhibits relating to social economy, health and sanitation, home economics and humane education, with a representation of religious exhibits, will be shown. Foreign and home missions,



INTERIOR OF THE AGRICULTURAL BUILDING, AS IT APPEARED IN FEBRUARY

(The Palace of Agriculture, Food, and Dairy Products will have 340,000 square feet—or nearly eight acres—of exhibition space. All the exposition buildings, with the exception of the Stadium, are of steel frame with stucco coating)



THE STADIUM AND A PORTION OF THE EXPOSITION GROUNDS

(Since this airplane photograph was taken, several months ago, much progress has been made toward completion of buildings and improvements of the grounds. The Stadium is built of concrete, to accommodate 50,000 persons. It will remain after the exposition is closed, as a city's contribution to outdoor sport)

welfare work, and church history will all have a place.

The entire gamut of sports, from archery to yachting, has been scheduled to take place during the Exposition. The Davis Cup tennis matches, the A. A. U. contests, the intercollegiate A. A. A. golf championship, a mounted police gymkhana, and, in all probability, one or more of the world's series baseball games, are only a few of the events which have been arranged as a part of the exhaustive athletic program.

Not nearly all the phases of the Exposition have received recognition here. The latest developments of mechanical devices and machinery which have revolutionized industrial processes will have demonstration at the Exposition, as well as all those inventions which aid in the transportation and communication of mankind. The greatest business and industrial concerns throughout the country are rapidly engaging space for their exhibits. Products of agriculture and the dairy will have wide display,

and a complete cannery and bakery will be installed on the grounds.

The federal Government has appropriated the sum of \$2,186,000 for its own participation and for an auxiliary building. Of this amount, \$1,000,000 has been allotted for Exposition buildings other than the Government pavilion. The remainder is being used to finance the displays which will be sent by Government bureaus and the Army and Navy.

A National Sesqui-Centennial Commission, headed by Secretary of State Kellogg, Secretary of Commerce Hoover, and Rear-Admiral Herman O. Stickney, U. S. N., retired, is directing Federal participation.

Among the foreign nations which will take part in the celebration are Japan, Spain, Mexico, Panama, Cuba, France, Great Britain, Holland, Germany, Sweden, Austria, Denmark, Chile, Colombia, Argentina, Haiti, Liberia, Nicaragua, Persia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Tunis, China, Egypt, and India. A number of industrial concerns in other countries have reserved

space in the exhibit palaces and are arranged to contribute examples of those commodities and industrial processes for which they are particularly noted.

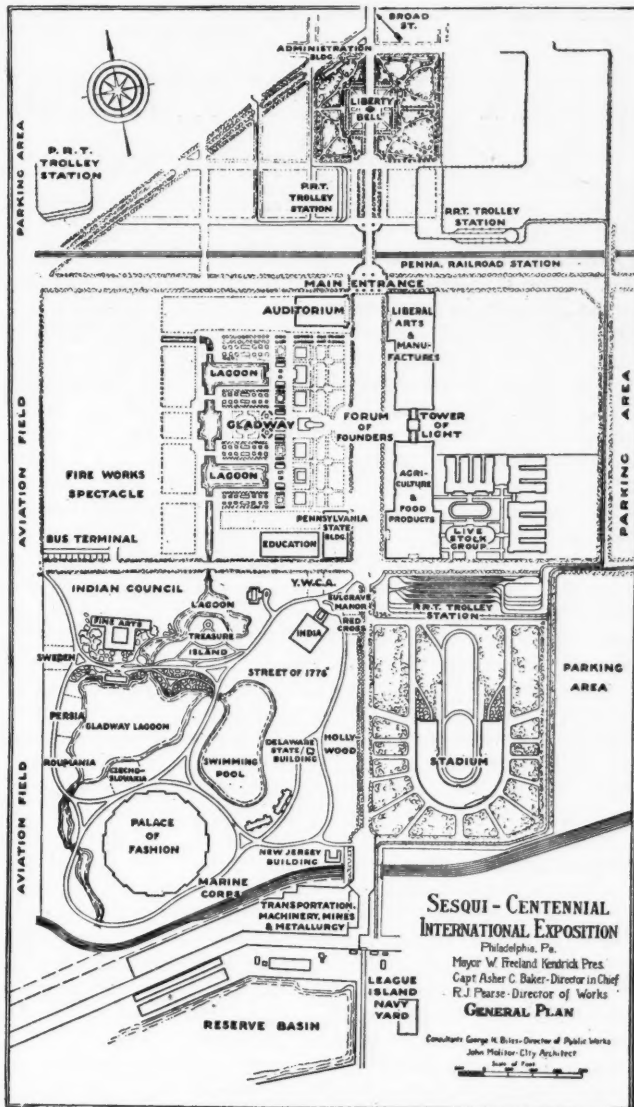
The Exposition buildings will resemble a "Rainbow City." They are being constructed of steel framework with stucco exteriors colored in pastel tints. The Exposition site covers one thousand acres in South Philadelphia, including League Island Park and the Navy Yard.

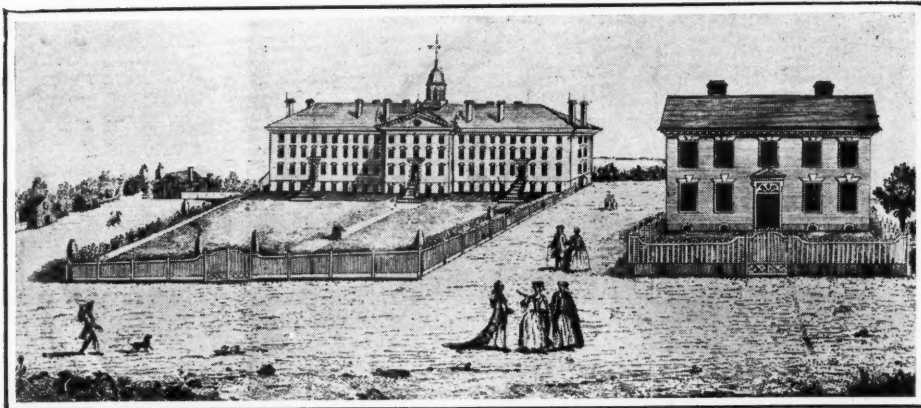
The spiritual motive which underlies the Sesqui-Centennial—that of a national thanksgiving for a century and a half of freedom—will be uppermost in all the activities of the Exposition. And it is this central theme which will motivate the art exhibitions, the concerts, the sports, the religious services, the pageantry and historic observances which have been planned for the citizens of the nation.

A feature of any international exposition is the great number of conventions held incidental thereto; and in the case of Philadelphia several hundred organizations have seized so attractive an opportunity to hold their gatherings there this year. The American Legion, for example, will meet from October 11 to 16. The Independent Order of Odd Fellows, from September 20 to 25, the Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine (more commonly known as "Shriners") June 1 and 2, the Knights of Columbus from August 2 to 5, the Woodmen of the World in August, the Sons of the American Revolution in June—these are representative of the fraternal societies which will meet in Philadelphia this summer.

A number of scientific associations will also meet

in connection with the Exposition, such as the American Chemical Society, the American Society of Civil Engineers and the American Association of Engineers, the American Pharmaceutical Association and the American Institute of Homeopathy. The National Education Association will assemble there from June 27 to July 1, the American Library Association in October, and the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World in June. The Library Association is itself celebrating a semi-centennial, having been formed as a result of the gathering of librarians in Philadelphia in 1876.





NASSAU HALL AND THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE, PRINCETON COLLEGE, FROM A RARE PRINT
MADE IN 1764

A JERSEY PILGRIMAGE

BY JOHN COTTON DANA

(Librarian, Free Public Library, Newark, N. J.)

YOU can motor across New Jersey, from Trenton on the Delaware to Hoboken on the Hudson, in two hours. But, pray don't do it. New Jersey was the center of our struggle for independence. It accepted fully the responsibilities which independence laid upon it. It has hid in no napkin of sloth and indifference the wealth of opportunity which lay before it, in the long Atlantic shore to the east and south; and in the navigable waters of the Hudson and the Delaware and their tributaries; and in the food products of ocean, streams and bays; and in the lands which nature had made fertile; and in the sands, clays, ores and rocks which only asked for enterprise and skill to become glass and pottery and iron and zinc and copper and cement and building stone; and in the bogs that have been taught to bear mountains of fruit; and in the hills, forests and lakes which plainly asked the dwellers in great cities to the east and west to plant among them their homes; and in the astounding gift of strategic location, which bade great trans-continental railways place their eastern terminals on the Jersey side of the Hudson; and in the summons to set up here foundries, potteries and factories for a thousand different purposes—summons that joined to ease of transport by land and water for both raw materials and manufactured products, a climate not too severe, a government neither eccentric nor meddling, and a people

not easily moved from the enjoyment of quiet prosperity!

That is a loud and long pæan of praise for one small State; and especially for one that is seen by most visitors as a rather monotonous railroad line, fenced in by engaging billboards; a State that village gossip puts outside of the Union; and a State that, even though it were lovelier than any Sweet Auburn and were more refined than the best of Utopias, would still be somewhat scorned by the literary because its veritable annals of war, peace, prosperity and progress have not been sung by our best poets.

If I have made you suspect that New Jersey offers more than a good motor road from Philadelphia to New York, then you are ready to be told how to see—in a few hours if you feel you must persist in mere swiftness, and in a few days if rapid flight is not your only wish—a little of the best of the most thickly populated, almost the oldest, the amazingly historic and, alas! the least understood and appreciated of all our United States.

We are now celebrating a hundred and fifty years of being free, progressive and, as yet, unafraid. If you are, this year, motor-ing about this thriving land, then you are almost surely touching your rapidity with a little deference, here and there, to "historic shrines"; and you wish to be told how you can, in the shortest possible time, see and pay your respects to the largest pos-

sible number of shrines in New Jersey. Before I outline briefly this whirlwind tour, let me mention a few phenomena, not precisely to be called shrines, and not all touched with history, that lie within New Jersey's gates—things which, if not seen by you, will make your home friends ask if you really motored across New Jersey, or passed over it in an airplane!

Atlantic City is the world's most emphatic expression of humanity's love of five things:—the sea, fashion, the great hotel, crowds, and last but most moving, love of healthful rest and recreation. No matter which of the factors that produce it you may set up for your approval or your scorn, this bit of New Jersey's ocean coast, when duly seen, compels you to feel, as perhaps never before, the vastness of the wealth of a country that can construct, put in order and touch with an architectural vision distinctly new, in a few years, and for a mere fraction of its people, this glorious opportunity to exchange dollars for innocent and healthful joy! A quiet county fair of former days expanded a few hundred thousand times—that is Atlantic City. And were the good people of 1776 to see it, they could lament only the waste and not the method of the waste!

Cross the State from Camden to this city by the sea, sixty miles of the best road: and return to Camden for a new start.



JOHN WITHERSPOON'S HOUSE,
PRINCETON

(As it looks to day, restored to the same condition as it was when Witherspoon, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and president of Princeton College from 1768 until his death in 1794, lived there)



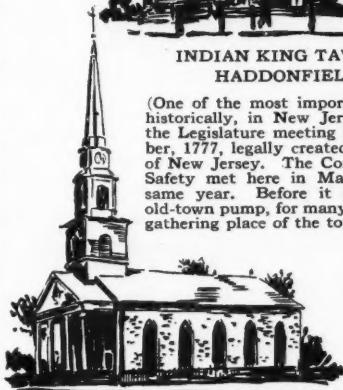
JOHN BRAINERD SCHOOL, MT. HOLLY

(Set on fire by the British in 1778 during the retreat before the Battle of Monmouth, the last Revolutionary fight on Jersey soil, the little school survived and is still in use)



INDIAN KING TAVERN,
HADDONFIELD

(One of the most important spots, historically, in New Jersey. Here the Legislature meeting in September, 1777, legally created the State of New Jersey. The Committee of Safety met here in March of the same year. Before it stands the old-town pump, for many years the gathering place of the townspeople)



TRINITY CHURCH, NEWARK

(Although the original founded in 1746 was burned during the Revolution, the present building, 1810, preserved the old spire)

For another side excursion, from this main route, take a motor ride of a few hours, northwesterly from the Newark region and go through charming valleys and over hills which give long views of as romantic and enchanting landscape as the heart can wish. Few of the millions who each year "see

New Jersey" at thirty to fifty miles per hour, give themselves the chance to discover that it is, in its northern part, as alluring to the lover of nature as it is, in its southern part, to the enthusiastic pursuer of the romance in our country's history. For directions on this northwest Jersey trip, consult your motor guidebook. Drive fifty miles to the northwest; return by another route (good roads must be common when a small State has 15,000 to 20,000 miles of the best) and you will have found the New Jersey that nature made beautiful and that man has tamed, but left beautiful still.

From Newark again, or from almost any of the historic towns on the route from Camden to the Hudson, for a third change from the historic, go Eastward, through Freehold, if possible, to the eastern coast and then drive for twenty or thirty miles along the Atlantic shore over the best of roads. Here the beach and the ocean are on one hand, on the other, for mile after mile, beautiful sea-ward facing homes. The contrast

between sandy beach with its whispering or roaring surf on the east, and the beautifully domesticated landscape on the west, accentuates the beauty of each view. The fact that New Jersey is almost southern in the richness and variety of flowers, shrubs and trees that flourish on it everywhere, makes itself felt to the discerning tourist; and the meadows, lawns and copses about the homes on this New Jersey shore seem somehow to exalt grass and shrubs and trees and flowers to the highest aspect of their interest and charm. This summer home and playground of the nation, facing the Atlantic, extends almost unbroken for 125 miles, from Sandy Hook near lower New York Bay to Cape May, where the Delaware begins.

These notes assume that you enter the State from Philadelphia, crossing into Camden over the longest suspended bridge in the world. They fit the reverse route equally well. But whether you visit the Hudson at the beginning or end of your pilgrimage, pray cross that Queen of Rivers at the Dyckman St. Ferry, near the northern tip of Manhattan Island and just below Spuyten Duyvil. As you climb or descend the Palisades on the Jersey shore in your car, turn sharp to the north along the Henry Hudson Boulevard, and for once in your motoring life see the



BOXWOOD HALL, ELIZABETH

(The home of Elias Boudinot, president of the Continental Congress in 1782 and member of the First, Second, and Third Congresses of the United States)



RECTORY OF THE HOUSE OF PRAYER, NEWARK

(This old stone house, once the Plume Homestead, was forcibly occupied by Hessian troops in the winter of 1777. In its attic, Hannibal Goodwin perfected the process of film-making in 1887, which made the moving picture possible)



HANCOCK HOUSE, SALEM

(A bronze tablet near the doorway of this well-preserved brick building, still lived in by descendants of its builders, commemorates the patriots massacred there in 1778)



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT MORRISTOWN

(In this particularly fine old house where Washington spent the winter of 1779-80 are gathered many historic relics of revolutionary days)

Hudson at its best; and rejoice in man's humanity to man which—through private gift and city and State foresight—has set aside here for all time as a playground for all who care to visit it one of the loveliest of nature's creations in her rôle as landscape artist.

Even Homer failed to make interesting a brief catalog! And to turn into attractive prose a list of towns at which you can profitably cool your motor, and to that list add reasons why this ancient building or that

tablet or monument is worthy of at least a glance, even from those not historically minded—that is an impossible task. The little map names the more important places. Your motor-guide gives you all needed details. Good hotels? Atlantic City has a hundred and more. Trenton entertains well the State's high officials. Princeton has an Inn of wide repute. And keep it in mind that from Trenton northwards you are, through all your journey, never more than a two hours' run from the Atlantic coast where flourish hotels beyond number and of any desired quality. If you go eastward to the coast from your main route, as suggested, you find in Freehold a place saturated with

revolutionary interest. Here Molly Pitcher became famous; here was the Battle of Monmouth; and here is the Old Tennent Church, built in 1751. Here also is the New Jersey village at its best, the center of a

rich farming area, and the home of not a few commuting lovers of peace and beauty from New York's shops and offices.

From Camden an inviting trip—still another preliminary to your main pilgrimage—is south to Bridgeton. Salem and

Cape May. Near Salem the Swedes made a settlement about 1640, soon taken over by the Dutch and, in 1674, by the English. The famous oak tree of Salem is said to be 450 years old. In Camden are the old home, and the grave, of Walt Whitman.

New Jersey Places of Historic Interest

Bloomfield. Chartered 1713, and named in 1796 after Gen. Joseph Bloomfield, afterwards Governor and Chancellor of New Jersey. Washington stopped, in 1780, at the Thomas Cadmus house, now standing.

Bordentown. In 1724 Joseph Borden bought the property which became Bordentown. In 1750 he managed transportation service from Phila-

delphia to New York—by ferry from New York to Perth Amboy, and by stage to Philadelphia via Bordentown. The home of Francis Hopkinson, signer of Declaration of Independence, still stands. His son, Joseph, wrote "Hail, Columbia." Hopkinson Smith (1838-1915), the novelist, was also a descendant.

Burlington. Settled in 1677—first called Beverly, then Bridlington, then Burlington. Here by act of Assembly, September 1682, was established a public school. In 1734 the first stage ran from Burlington to New York, via Bordentown. The first newspaper in New Jersey was published here. James Fenimore Cooper and Capt. James Lawrence ("Don't give up the ship!") were born in Burlington. Elias Boudinot, president of the Continental Congress, lived there. From 1686 to 1790, Burlington, in "West Jersey," alternated with Perth Amboy as the seat of New Jersey's colonial government.

Camden. At the evacuation of Philadelphia the British army crossed the Delaware into Camden at Cooper's Ferry, where Scotch, Hessian and British regiments had been quartered. A new bridge across the Delaware, between Camden and Philadelphia, is the world's longest suspension bridge. Camden has what is said to be the largest, most complete shipyard in the world.

Elizabethtown. The first English settlement in New Jersey, 1665, and capital of the province of which Philip Carteret was first Governor. The Battle of Elizabethtown was fought January 25-30, 1780. The home of the royal Governor John Belcher and the Revolutionary Governor William Livingston are still standing. Alexander Hamilton went to school here.

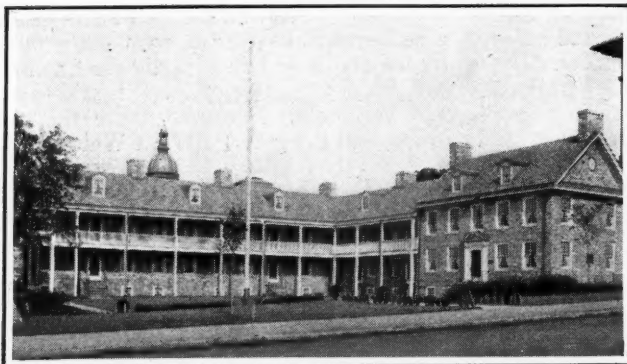
Freehold. During the Revolution Freehold was called Monmouth Court House. It was the scene of the Battle of Monmouth (June 28, 1778), in which Mollie Pitcher figured. Two miles from Freehold stands the famous Tennent Church, built twenty-five years earlier. There is a revolutionary monument erected in Freehold.

Hackensack. The residence of Peter Zabriskie, now the Mansion



NEW JERSEY IN REVOLUTIONARY TIMES

(The map, adapted from the well-known Faden map made in 1777, shows some of the towns more or less intimately connected with the Revolution and the early life of New Jersey. The "Highroad to New York," while virtually the same to-day, was the one in use a century and a half ago)



TRENTON BARRACKS, ERECTED FOR USE IN THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS AND NOW A FAMOUS REVOLUTIONARY SHRINE

House, erected in 1751, at this place was Washington's headquarters in retreat from Fort Lee, 1776. The town was the scene of many skirmishes, Col. Aaron Burr gaining his first military distinction here. In the burying-ground of old First Reformed Church is the grave of General Poor of New Hampshire who died in camp, 1780.

Haddonfield. The last encampment of Hessians under Count Donop, before the battle of Red Bank, October 22, 1777. Hessians and American troops often passed through the town. The old Friends' Meeting-house was used as a hospital by both armies.

Jersey City. Early known as Paulus Hook, had trading post in 1633. In August, 1779, Major "Light Horse Harry" Lee made a brilliant capture of the British garrison at Paulus Hook, and a monument commemorates this deed. Robert Fulton built his first steam vessel, *Clermont*, here.

Mount Holly. Hicksite Friends' Meeting-house, built in 1775, was occupied by British troops in 1776 before battle of Trenton. Mt. Holly also has a picturesque old mill, erected in 1798.

Newark. In 1666, a band of Puritans from Connecticut headed by Robert Treat settled at "Four Corners" (now Broad and Market Streets). Through the city runs the Passaic River where whalers once sailed to port. Trinity Cathedral, near Military Park, was used as a hospital for Continental soldiers during the Revolution. The House of Prayer is more than two hundred years old. There Hannibal Goodwin, in 1887, invented the moving-picture film. The Old First Church and burying-ground was established in 1787. Opposite Washington Park stands the Public Library, one of the most progressive and liberal in the country, and the Museum of Industry, Art and Science, both directed by John Cotton Dana, pioneer in the movement for allying the industries and arts. The headquarters for much historical information about Newark and Essex County is the New Jersey Historical Society in the center of town. Newark is among the leading cities of the United States in population, industries, and education.

New Brunswick. Scene of Washington's headquarters during his retreat to Trenton, and a British headquarters in June, 1777. It is the home of the famous Rutgers College, incorporated in 1766.

Perth Amboy. Perth in honor of James, Earl of Perth; Amboy from Point Ambo, Indian name for

the promontory on which the town stood. Colonial capital of New Jersey. The government house, now standing, was completed in 1764. St. Peter's church was founded in 1722. "Parker Castle" has a stone wing dating back to 100 years before the Revolution. In Water Street, near the ferry, are the foundations of the old British tea house where was stored the cause of the famous Jersey tea party. Kearny Cottage, erected in 1730 by Michael Kearny, will be maintained by the Perth Amboy Historical Society.

Princeton. Seat of the University, oldest and most famous educational institution in the State, founded in 1746,

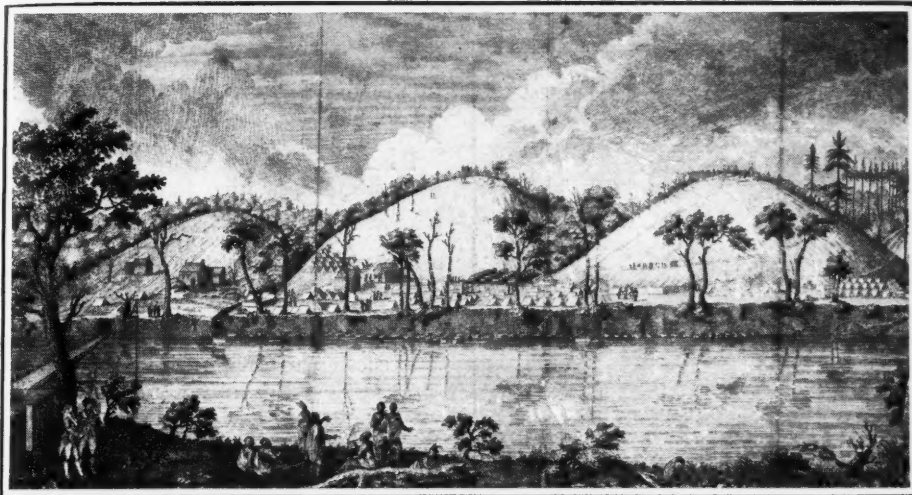
the buildings of which were occupied by British and American troops in the Revolutionary War. Princeton also claims two signers of the Declaration of Independence, Richard Stockton and John Witherspoon, one of the University's early presidents. The first battle of the Revolution in which the American army defeated the British was fought here, January 3, 1777, and the Continental Congress met at Princeton in the summer of 1783. Old Nassau Hall, the original college building, erected before the Revolution, still stands on the University campus.

Rahway. One of the oldest settlements in New Jersey, and in the Revolution one of five places where military guards were maintained. The famous Milton Inn entertained Washington, Cornwallis, Gates, Howe, and others. At Old Peace Tavern, still standing, General La Fayette was received in 1824. The Rahway cemetery contains many graves of patriots, among them Abraham Clark, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Springfield. Here, on June 23, 1780, the British were defeated by General Greene. The burying-ground of many soldiers who fell is still preserved. The patriotic minister, James Caldwell, of the First Presbyterian Church, tore up the Watts hymn-books and bibles for the guns of the soldiers.

Trenton. Founded in 1680, and named after William Trent, chief justice of the colony. Congress met here for a short time in November, 1784, while Trenton was under consideration for seat of the federal government. It became the State capitol in 1790. The barracks still stand which were built by the British in 1759 to house troops in French and Indian wars, and which also saw service in the Revolution. A monument in the center of the city commemorates the Battle of Trenton and capture of the Hessian troops by Washington on December 26, 1776. Trenton is the principal center of the pottery industry in the United States.

Washington's Crossing. Eight miles above Trenton, where American troops on Christmas Day, 1776, crossed the Delaware in a raging snow storm and proceeded in two divisions to the successful engagement with the Hessians, known as the Battle of Trenton, regarded by some as the turning point of the Revolution. The McConkey house, associated with that event, was recently restored by the State of New Jersey.



From "The Pageant of America," Yale University Press

SCENE OF THE CHIEF EPISODE IN THE EMPIRE STATE'S REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY

(This engraving was first published in Thomas Anburey's "Travels Through the Interior Parts of America"—London, 1789. It depicts the funeral of General Frazer, on one of the hills opposite. Frazer was a veteran on the staff of the British commander, Burgoyne, who lost his life in the fighting. The original print locates the scene on "the West Bank of the Hudson's River, Three Miles Above Still Water")

NEW YORK HISTORY FOR THE MOTORIST

A MOTORIST passing through New York City does not, as a rule, look for historic shrines or landmarks. The immensity and modernity of the city are likely to overwhelm him and banish from his mind everything that may have led him to dwell upon the past. Yet, if he would for a time disregard the strident call of the busy and noisy present, he would find within the metropolis itself more than one reminder of high moments in a history that has been three centuries in the making. This one hundred and fiftieth year of our national independence marks the completion of New York's three hundred years of municipal existence. On that day, in 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was signed at Philadelphia, the town at the mouth of the Hudson had already attained a sesquicentennial anniversary of its own.

Of the Dutch period in New York's history few traces remain, and most of these are inaccessible so far as the tourist is concerned. The only buildings of that period now extant are a few ancient Dutch farmhouses in that part of Long Island which in 1898 was incorporated in the Greater New York. On Manhattan Island

there is probably not a single building of Dutch origin now standing. Even of the English Colonial period the surviving buildings are by no means numerous. From the standpoint of historical association one of the most interesting landmarks is Fraunce's Tavern which has stood on the corner of Broad and Pearl streets in lower Manhattan for more than two hundred years. This building was the scene of Washington's farewell to his officers at the end of the Revolution. It is now owned by the Sons of the Revolution, and is open to the public daily except Sundays. A few blocks up Broadway stands St. Paul's Chapel, in which Washington worshiped after his inauguration as President of the new Republic in 1789.

Crossing one of the East River bridges to what is now the Borough of Brooklyn, one may find several memorials of the Revolution. Tablets in and near Prospect Park mark the lines of the Battle of Long Island, and a monument commemorates the unflinching valor of the Maryland troops who took part in that engagement. The fighting on that August day in 1776 marked one of the earliest instances of Southern or border-



THE MOTOR ROUTE TO THE PRINCIPAL PLACES OF REVOLUTIONARY CONFLICT IN NEW YORK

State soldiers resisting British advance on Northern soil. Another memorial of rather unusual character in the Borough of Brooklyn is the monument to the Prison

Ship Martyrs—those Americans who, while prisoners of war, died on British hulks in the waters of New York Harbor and the East River.

Before driving northward from the city, one should visit the Jumel Mansion at 160th Street which for a short time in 1776 was Washington's headquarters. Not far away are remains of earthworks thrown up by the Revolutionary army. A drive of twenty miles north takes one across a portion of the so-called Neutral Ground of Westchester to White Plains, where the State of New York was born in the summer of 1776, and where in the fall of that year Washington and Howe fought an indecisive engagement. One may see there the farmhouse which served as Washington's headquarters, and well-defined traces of the Continental earthworks. It was from this vicinity that Washington successfully withdrew his army in the late fall of 1776 and crossed the Hudson for his New Jersey campaign. In 1778 he returned to White Plains, and three years later organized in Westchester County the successful expedition of American and French troops from the Hudson River to Yorktown.

The historically-minded motorist may wish to cross the river at Bear Mountain Bridge just above Peekskill and direct his course southward into New Jersey, where he may readily adopt one or more of Mr. Dana's admirable suggestions for visiting the historic shrines of that State. If, however, he prefers to continue his journey northward in New York State, he will be richly rewarded by visits to Stony Point (a few miles to the south of Bear Mountain) and West Point, a place which was developed through Washington's foresight and energy into one of the most strongly fortified posts on the American Continent. The remains of these fortifications are still to be seen.

Continuing up the west side of the river one passes Kingston, capital of the State at one time during the Revolutionary period, and comes to Albany, the present capital, whose history is hardly second in interest to that of New York itself. Still farther northward the motorist will come to the battlefield of Saratoga, or Stillwater, in the upper Hudson valley, the scene of Burgoyne's surrender. The Lake George region is full of Colonial and Revolutionary memories, and on Lake Champlain the sites of Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point will

well repay a visit. The journey may be continued, by way of Plattsburg, to Montreal. On returning to Albany, a side trip may be

made up the Mohawk Valley at least as far as Rome, the site of Fort Stanwix, and the nearby battlefield of Oriskany.

FROM PHILADELPHIA TO YORKTOWN

BY SAMUEL CHILES MITCHELL

(Professor of History, University of Richmond)

FROM Independence Hall the motor-mind will turn instinctively to the present capital of the republic, and to the cradle of America at Jamestown. Such an excursion southward will retrace the steps of Cæsar Rodney's famous ride from Delaware to cast his vote at Philadelphia for independence; will visit Lord Baltimore's colony in Maryland, which pioneered in religious freedom; and will linger with affection at Mount Vernon, Monticello and Montpelier—the homes of the Father of his Country, of the author of the Declaration of Independence, and of the drafter of the Constitution. Glowing is the prospect of a trip that embraces within brief radius so rich a past and so inviting a present as Delaware, Maryland and the Old Dominion.

The magnificent du Pont Boulevard, a gift of the Senator whose name it bears, runs the full length of the Diamond State. Wilmington, just at the fork of the Brandywine and Christiana, was the site of the Swedish settlement in 1638. Old Swedes' church still stands, in the midst of an industrial center for leather, fiber and explosives. One interested in colonial architecture will not fail to make a short run to Newcastle, where William Penn first landed, in 1682; and especially to Dover, with its famous Green facing the Capitol and the Ridgely house, built in 1727. Along this highway the eye will observe model rural schools for both races, built by Mr. Pierre S. du Pont, that tend to make Delaware an exemplar State in education and social service. The peach and apple orchards along the way are of great beauty and extent.

Just twelve miles south of Wilmington, the highway passes through the campus of the University of Delaware, notable for its successful coördinate colleges for men and women. At Port Deposit, Maryland, on

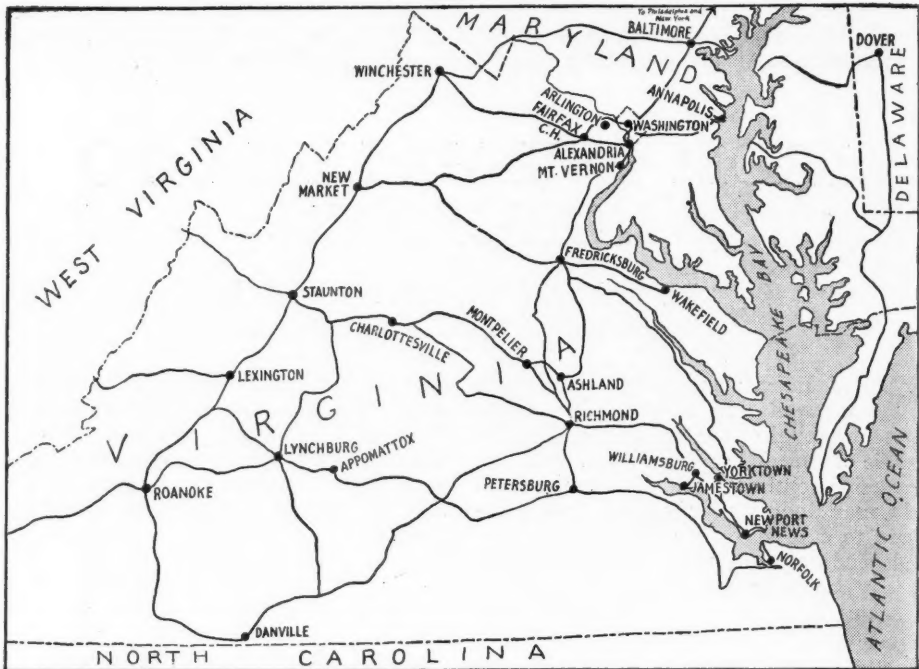
the high bluffs of the Susquehanna, is Tome School for boys, facing unrivaled scenery. Admiral Perry visited these scenes in Cecil County, as a boy, and confessed to me that after fifty years of wandering upon the sea, he came back to build his home amid this beauty.

Baltimore and Washington

Approaching Baltimore, we think of Charles Carroll, "of Carrollton," who survived by six years all the other Signers of the Declaration, and of the old fort in the bay, whence flew the Star Spangled Banner that Francis Scott Key, prisoner on a British war-ship, watched to good purpose.

When George Peabody returned to America from his London bank, a dinner was given him in Baltimore by the Garretts, of B. and O. renown. In the course of the dinner, he let drop the remark: "I know of only two enduring human needs—the training of youth, and the care of the sick." Sitting opposite him was Johns Hopkins, who went home and bequeathed half of his fortune to found a university and the other half for a hospital, those twin institutions which bear his name and reflect glory upon American scholarship and science. The buildings on the spacious campus at Homewood are modeled after the Carroll home, which is now the Johns Hopkins Club.

Washington is a world of interest to every American. The temptation will be to linger too long under the dome of the Capitol or amid the splendors of the Library of Congress—not to speak of the White House, the Treasury, National Museum, and foreign legations without number. The heart is eager to cross the Potomac and enter Virginia, the first permanent home of the English upon this Continent.



MODERN HIGHWAYS THAT RENDER ACCESSIBLE VIRGINIA'S TREASURE-LAND OF COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY

Washington's Country

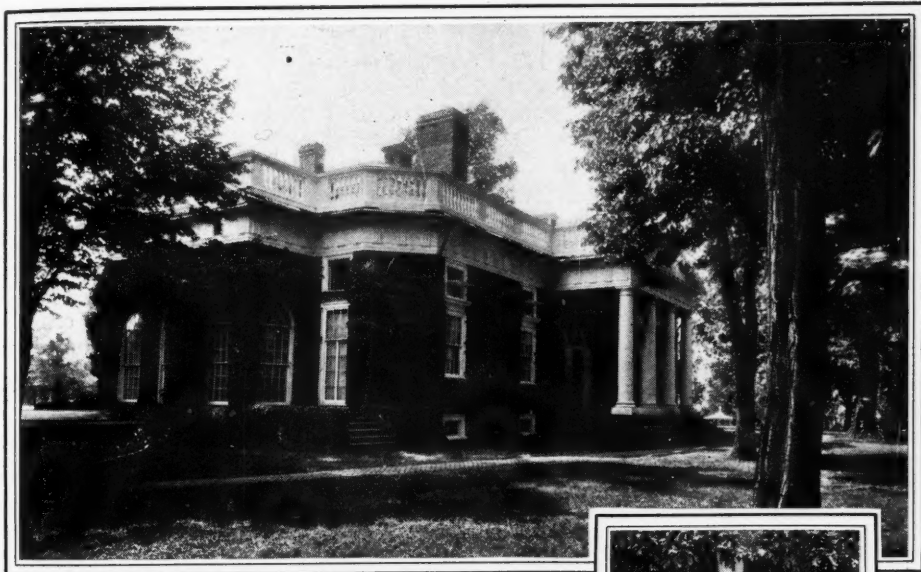
Even as we speed across the Potomac on the Key Bridge, the eye lifts to the Doric porch of Arlington, the home of Robert E. Lee, the personification of the South; and hard by is the National Cemetery, with the grave of the Unknown Soldier. From the porch of Arlington there is spread out before us the panorama of the historic river, the needle-like Washington Monument, the vast dome of the Capitol, and the city nestling between the ganglion of our national life. A little to the right, we get a glimpse of Alexandria, and the pyramidal Masonic temple now building on a hill above. Thence we go to Mount Vernon, the home counterpart in the social life of the South to Independence Hall in our political achievement. Words fail even to hint at what the heart feels in these precincts. Here are the rooms where Washington received Lafayette, there the tomb where his body rests.

In spite of haste, we find time to visit the home of Washington's neighbor at Gunston Hall, George Mason, one of the solidest characters in the Revolutionary era. He was the author of the Virginia

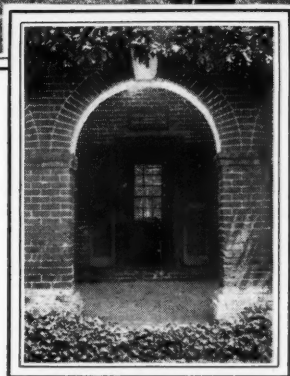
Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Yonder is Pohick Church, where both Washington and Mason worshiped.

Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock, greets us next. Here may still be seen the home of Washington's mother, and near by a granite shaft above her grave, with its matchless inscription: "Mary, the Mother of Washington." In 1863 these streets were strewn with dead, so thick that a man could walk to Lee's breastworks at the foot of Marye's Heights without putting foot upon the ground. But from these horrors of battle, we think of a romance exhaled from this soil.

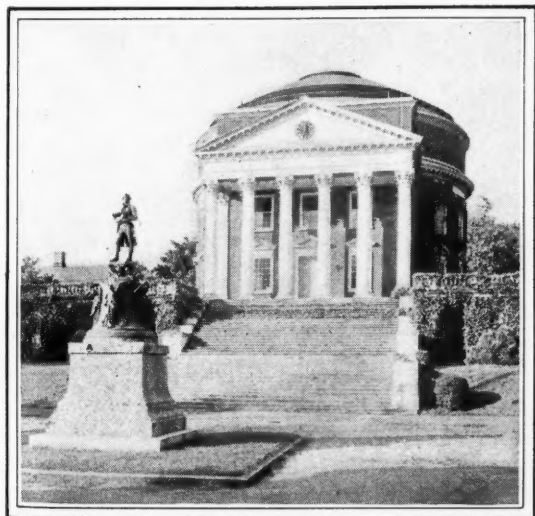
After the Civil War, General Lee visited Fredericksburg, where a public reception was tendered him. At one stage, he found himself beside a bevy of young ladies, and casually asked one of them, "Where is your home?" "At Old Chatham," she replied, indicating a mansion near by, where Burnside had encamped. "Is the old oak still standing, in the corner of the yard?" inquired the General. "Oh, yes," she said, "I have played under it from childhood." "Well, it was under that oak that I courted my wife; and as I stood on Marye's



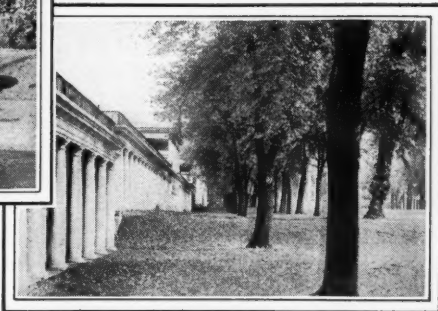
MONTICELLO, THE HOME OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, NEAR CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.



© A. J. Weed
EDGAR ALLAN POE'S ROOM
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF VIR-
GINIA



THE ROTUNDA OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIR-
GINIA, AT CHARLOTTESVILLE, WITH THE
STATUE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, AND (AT
THE RIGHT) A VIEW OF THE CAMPUS



WHERE THOMAS JEFFERSON LIVED AND LABORED, AND DEMONSTRATED UNEXCELLED QUALITIES AS AN ARCHITECT

(The author of the Declaration of Independence and third President of the United States was born in Virginia and made his home at Monticello from the time of his marriage, in 1772, until his death in 1826. He founded the University of Virginia and himself laid out the buildings and grounds)

Heights in the midst of the battle, it occurred to me that perhaps I could get a glimpse of it with my field-glass." Then, indicating by a wave of the hand how he waited for the smoke of battle to clear, he said with tears in his voice, "I did; and it strengthened me for the day's work." The world looked at him and pronounced him a warrior; but in the bottom of his heart he was a lover—a lover of the woman to whom he plighted his troth, a lover of the State of his birth, and of the Nation which his father, Light Horse Harry, had helped to create.

From Fredericksburg a lateral highway brings us to the "Northern Neck," birthplace of many immortals—Washington, the Lees, Monroe and Madison. Would that we knew the sources of the geyser that threw up such greatness in this narrow peninsula between tidal rivers!

Southward through the Old Dominion

Going directly southward from Fredericksburg, we enter Hanover County, where two orators first saw the light—Patrick Henry, who set the ball of the Revolution rolling in 1765, and Henry Clay, the Pacificator. To the right of the highway is Oakland, the home of Thomas Nelson Page, where remain his manuscripts and unique treasures gathered by his taste, such as Keats' Bible, a cast of Thackeray's hand, and early portraits of Milton and Sir Walter. In Ashland is the campus of Randolph-Macon College, where Walter Page was trained for his task of world diplomacy, and where the Page Library has just been dedicated.

Approaching Richmond, we pass Yellow Tavern, where J. E. B. Stuart, the dashing cavalry officer, fell in defense of the capital of the Confederacy. This field is suggestive of the battle-grounds encircling the city—Mechanicsville, Seven Pines, Cold Harbor, Malvern Hill, etc. We motor to Gamble's Hill, where stands a monument recording the first sight that white men had of the Falls of the James. A companion of Christopher Newport recorded on May 24, 1607:

So, upon one of the little ilets at the mouth of the falls, he set up a crosse, with this inscription, "Iacobus, Rex, 1607"; and his owne name belowe. At the erecting hereof, we prayed for our kyng, and our owne prosperous succes in this his actyon.

Yonder is St. John's Church, where Patrick Henry in 1775 seemed prophetically

to hear the cannon at Concord. In the churchyard, many seek out the grave of Poe's mother. * The Capitol was designed by Jefferson from a Roman temple. Under its dome is the statue of Washington by Houdon, who came from France to Mount Vernon, specifically to preserve the actual lineaments of that great figure. This is the most precious marble in America.

In the Governor's Mansion, in the Capitol Square, resides Harry Byrd, a descendant of the famous family who owned Westover mansion, just below Richmond, on the James. William Byrd II was the founder of Richmond and of Petersburg. A stone's throw from the Capitol is the home of Chief Justice John Marshall, the maker of the Supreme Court; and there rises by its side the John Marshall High School, where three thousand Virginia youth are trained. Within a block is the Valentine Museum, a fine old home in which Marshall and Aaron Burr sat down to dinner together after Burr's acquittal in the famous trial. Turning the corner, opposite the Medical College, is the dwelling of Matthew Fontaine Maury, the Pathfinder of the Seas. Within a short walk is old Shockoe Cemetery, where lie Poe's Helen and John Marshall, whose epitaph, written by himself, makes no mention of the fact that he was Chief Justice. A lovely drive northward along James River brings us to the Country Club and the University of Richmond, whose Gothic buildings were designed by Ralph Cram. In Richmond, history and prophecy meet, for amid the scenes of the past there now rises a city surging with industrial energy.

Williamsburg, Yorktown, Hampton Roads

The highway eastward beckons to Williamsburg, the former capital, and the seat of the College of William and Mary, founded in 1693. A lateral road leads to Jamestown, where the British Commonwealth of Nations had its beginning—the biggest fact since Columbus. There stands the tower of the old church, and the fields renew themselves each spring with the little blue hyacinth brought by the first settlers. On the tercentenary in 1907 Lord Bryce made the oration, on a platform facing the river up which one could imagine Capt. John Smith sailing, carrying empires in his purposes.

Just across the narrow peninsula is Yorktown, where American independence

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YORKTOWN, VIRGINIA, WHERE THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR WAS ENDED IN OCTOBER, 1781

(General Washington's colonial army, with the aid of French forces on land and sea, compelled the surrender of the British under Lord Cornwallis after a siege of nineteen days; and the effort to subdue the American colonies came to an end. The monument seen in the picture was erected 100 years after the surrender)

was won. The breastworks, the Moore house where the negotiators met, and the Nelson house (now handsomely restored) will attract us. The noble monument overlooking the York reminds us how signal was the part played by France in this victory.

Across the York is Gloucester County, where was born Walter Reed, who practically banished yellow fever from the earth. A hard-surfaced road brings us to the Newport News shipyard. At Hampton is still perpetuated the first free school in America, endowed by a farmer in 1636. Here, too, is Hampton Institute, one of the world's best experiment-stations in education for the Negro, where Booker Washington and R. R. Moton were trained. At the Point is Fortress Monroe, overlooking Hampton Roads, where the American navy often rides, encircled by the prosperous cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth.

The Blue Ridge and "the Valley"

Westward from Richmond the eye turns toward the Blue Ridge, with Jefferson's "Monticello" on one of the foothills, commanding a widespread view. The place interprets the personality. The monument over his mountain-side grave bears an inscription written by himself that makes no allusion to the Louisiana Purchase or to the fact that he was twice President, but names as the climax of his life that he was "Father

of the University of Virginia." In the dining-room of Monticello there was once a party of Presidents, four sitting down at once to table. For the first forty years of our Government, Virginia and one family in Massachusetts furnished all our Chief Executives. Hence, when John Quincy Adams visited Virginia, it was easy to call in neighbor Presidents to dine. In Charlottesville is the University of Virginia, a group of buildings unsurpassed on this continent for classic beauty.

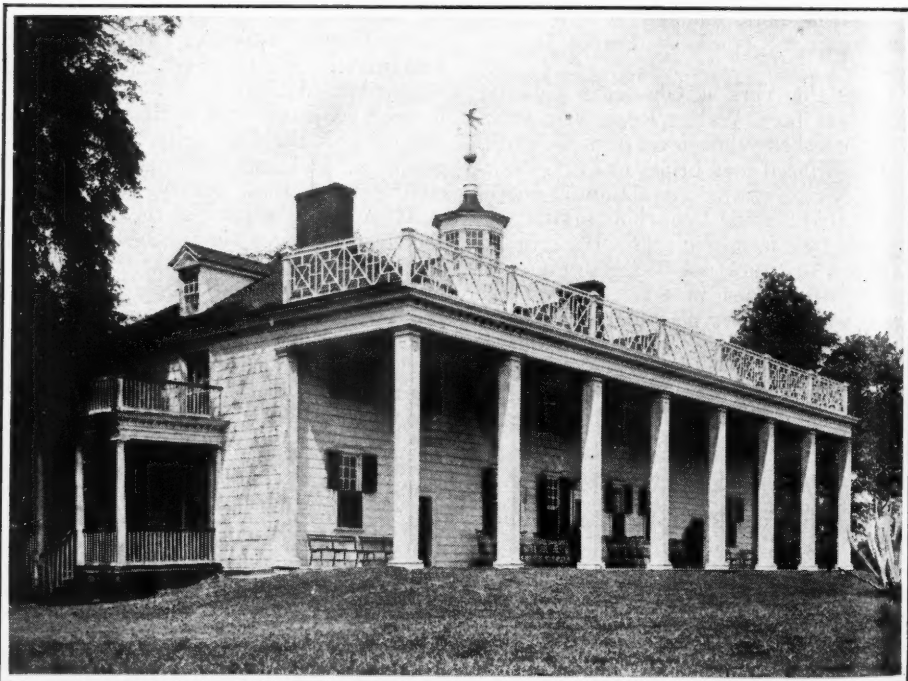
As we pass the crest of the Blue Ridge, there is a charming view of the Shenandoah Valley, flowing with milk and honey, and famous through the heroic exploits of Stonewall Jackson, Phil Sheridan and the rest. Reaching Staunton, we are at the birthplace of Woodrow Wilson. A short journey south brings us to Lexington, the shrine of the South, where Jackson and Lee were teachers of youth, in the Virginia Military Institute and in Washington College. To the latter, Washington gave fifty thousand dollars. When General Lee's presidency was closed by his death, the school was re-named Washington and Lee. In the crypt of the chapel is the dust of the Southern leader, and above, the impressive recumbent statue by Valentine. A recent tourist is said to have exclaimed, "Oh, here is the great statue of Lee, by Recumbent!" Fifteen miles away is Natural Bridge, indeed a wonder of Nature.

Turning northward down the valley, a short detour brings us face to face with the old blacksmith's shop in which Cyrus McCormick made the first reaping machine; and yonder is the house where Sam Houston, the Texas leader, was born. Passing through Harrisonburg on the Lee highway, we come to Newmarket, where Ezekiel's statue commemorates the heroism of his fellow-cadets from the Virginia Military Institute. A short distance, and we reach the Luray Caverns, an underground world of singular interest.

Crossing Massanutten Mountain, we speed through a fine farming region to Winchester, through the streets of which the battle-line surged to and fro continuously during the Civil War. At Berryville the roads diverge. The one through Leesburg is studded with gentlemen's homes; and the other runs through Charlestown and Harper's Ferry, a picturesque water-gap painted by Stanley Arthurs, who inherits the studio of Howard Pyle in Wilmington. Yet amid these scenes one can not forget the tragic memories of John Brown's raid, when the South

entered into the shadow and within a brief space of years suffered the shock of destructive war.

In disaster, the South faced three tasks—economic development, national integration, and racial adjustment. All three of these tasks were to be worked out through the school. Education was therefore the epitome of the South's problem. As Dr. Buttrick pointed out in the April REVIEW OF REVIEWS, in 1902 the South spent on public schools a little more than twenty-seven million dollars. In 1924 it spent above two hundred and seventy-three million. From Danville, Virginia, to Greenville, South Carolina, is one continuous stretch of cotton mills. The harnessed water-powers of the Carolinas enabled James B. Duke to give eighty million dollars to the University that bears his name, and related causes. The inter-racial commission under the guidance of W. W. Alexander in Atlanta has made for good-will and coöperation, while the part the South took in the administration of Woodrow Wilson attests its national spirit and international outlook.



MOUNT VERNON, THE HOME OF GEORGE WASHINGTON, ON THE POTOMAC, FIFTEEN MILES BELOW THE CITY OF WASHINGTON

(The mansion stands on an eminence 200 feet above the river)

PORTO RICO REVISITED

CONTRASTS OF TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

BY SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY

IN THE attempt to record briefly some recent impressions of Porto Rico it may be well to confess a certain bias—which may be, however, their chief justification. Almost from the beginning of American military occupation, over twenty-seven years ago, it was my good fortune to have had occasion to follow closely the course of events in that marvelously beautiful tropical island; four years later to participate officially, under appointment from President Roosevelt, as a member of the Executive Council, the upper house in the first Legislative Assembly in the history of Porto Rico, in the interesting work of the initial adjustment of law and practices of American civil government, and as the second Commissioner of Education to assist in laying the foundations of an American public-school system.

After an absence of twenty-one years, I revisited the island a few months ago as a member of the unofficial Commission of the International Institute of Education of Teachers College, Columbia University, which has just made an educational survey of the University of Porto Rico and the public-school system; and in that connection I made a brief study of the economic and social background of public education.

My first and strongest impression is that the people of continental United States know altogether too little of what Porto Rico has achieved in recent years. If the average intelligent citizen here and the moulders and leaders of public opinion could visualize the problems and tasks with which Porto Rico has struggled so bravely and on the whole with such signal success, we would be immensely proud of the achievements of the people of Porto Rico and glad of the part we have had in coöperation with them. While our Government has treated Porto Rico generously from the start, both our Government and our people in other than governmental

ways can and must find added means of helpful coöperation as fast as we become more fully conscious of what has been done (and is being done in what is perhaps the most significant experiment in government in the first quarter of the Twentieth Century. The fears and croakings of the anti-imperialists in 1898 have been confounded by this record. The wisdom of the statesmanship of President McKinley has been justified of its fruits, for it was he who said that we must not leave our new responsibilities (referring to Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines) to the tender mercies of the ordinary politician.

Twenty-five Years of Civil Government

On May 1, 1925, Porto Rico completed a quarter-century of civil government as a part of the United States. The accomplishment of those years from many points of view are really so remarkable that they seem to be almost without a parallel. Nothing comparable in the total results produced in so short a period of time, in a territory two-thirds of the size of the State of Connecticut and with a population increasing from one million to one and one-third million people, can be found in the pioneer days of the development of democratic communities in continental United States.

This is true of the achievement measured in terms of the adjustment of the traditions of two ancient civilizations. It is true of the adaptation of American laws and forms of governmental, economic, and social life to the customs and genius of Spanish culture, previously superimposed upon and blended with an ancient Indian culture of the better sort which called itself Borinquen and has been generally supposed to be superior to that of the Caribs and Arawaks of the neighboring isles. It is true of the development in capacity for self-government, in education, and in efforts to become

a bi-lingual people, in health and physical well-being, in economic advancement and moral fiber, and in the science and art of living.

Governor Arthur Yager appraised the twenty years dating from the ratification of the Treaty of Paris (April 11, 1899), by which Porto Rico became definitely American territory, in his annual report for 1919, after more than five years of service as Governor. Ample facts confirm observations that I shall presently make for the longer twenty-five-year period to show the tangible results of progress.

After twenty years, the government of this island is both entirely democratic and in the main locally controlled and responsible to the people. And this is true not only of the political institutions, such as the legislature and the municipal councils and other officials elected by the people, but practically the entire personnel who do the work of the government are native sons and daughters of the island. . . .

In short and in fine these two decades of progress made by Porto Rico under the American flag taken all together constitute a record which I believe can not be equalled by any people anywhere in the world in the same length of time. It is a record creditable alike to the Porto Ricans themselves and to the great free Republic to which they owe allegiance. Much of it is due to the liberality and generous aid of the great American Government and people, but most of the credit is due to the splendid coöperation of the Porto Ricans themselves. Without their coöperation little of this progress could have been made. But the people of the island have eagerly availed themselves of every opportunity offered them for improvement. With patriotic devotion to their island and with a real aspiration for progress, they have made a quick response to all changes that were necessary for development.

Those are not the perfunctory words of an ordinary government report but the expression of a matured judgment of one in sufficient contact with the facts of progress and the problems of government to see their true perspective. The twenty-five-year period of civil government furnishes added evidence of tangible facts and lends new emphasis to the same conclusions. Much of the result is attributable to the kindly, able, and patient tutelage of Governors Allen and Hunt—especially the latter who brought unusual qualities of mind and heart, exceptional training and preparation, and intense devotion to his tasks—and their associates and successors. But much more is due to the aptness of the pupils and to the unsuspected high qualities and adaptability of the dominant elements of the Porto Rican people.

How the Government Is Organized

The first government was the military government instituted by the War Department after General Miles occupied the island with United States forces on July 25 and took full possession October 18, 1898. It lasted a little over eighteen months until civil government was inaugurated May 1, 1900. Since that time the United States has maintained no military forces in the island. It has contributed federal funds toward the expense of maintaining one Porto Rican regiment of troops, officered in part from the United States regular army, for the defense of the territory and for the training of its citizens in military duties. It has also maintained a small naval station in San Juan harbor.

Civil government began under the act of Congress approved April 12, 1900, popularly known as the Foraker Law. This was the first organic act and practically a constitution for the island. It continued in force for seventeen years with only minor changes not affecting the system of government it provided. While making provision for an elective lower house of the insular legislature, with ample legislative powers and a joint definitive voice with the Executive Council in the exercise of the control of the purse in voting the budget and making all appropriations, it vested large powers in the Governor and in the heads of six major departments of the government appointed by the President of the United States. Furthermore the heads of departments exercised both legislative and executive functions in the Executive Council along with five other presidential appointees—who must be native Porto Ricans.

It was a wise piece of legislation, on the whole, though it never quite satisfied the wishes and ambitions of the people of Porto Rico. They very naturally desired a system of government whose powers would be more largely in their own hands. It was generally felt by the leading continental Americans, officials and others alike, in the island during the first years of civil government that Congress had gone as far as it was prudent to go in handing over the government to the Porto Ricans until they demonstrated their capacity for self-government and had more training in the technique and self restraint necessary for its successful exercise. The fact that

Congress so soon gave the more liberal grant of powers of the second organic act of 1917, is doubtless proof of the wisdom of the restrictions of the Foraker Law.

The second organic act, popularly known as the Jones Law, passed Congress and was approved March 2, 1917. It has remained in force with only minor amendments to this day. It liberalized the scheme of government, gave greater powers of control of their affairs to Porto Ricans, and granted them full United States citizenship. Only four insular officials—Governor, Attorney General, Commissioner of Education, and Auditor—together with the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of Porto Rico, and the Judge of the United States District Court, are now appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate at Washington. The expenses of the United States District Court of Porto Rico are paid from federal revenues, in the same manner as in other district courts. All other insular officials, except the judiciary as above noted and the more important municipal officials elected by popular vote, are appointed by the Governor of Porto Rico, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of Porto Rico.

Both houses of the legislature of Porto Rico are now elected by the people, and the powers of the Executive Council have become relatively unimportant. The island is an organized but unincorporated territory. Until incorporated by Act of Congress it is ineligible for statehood. Neither the Constitution of the United States nor the laws of Congress apply to Porto Rico, except in so far as they are of necessity applicable pursuant to the sovereignty of the United States or are made applicable by act of Congress. The major part of the bill of rights of the United States Constitution was incorporated in both organic acts and especially in the Jones Act of 1917, which also provided that "the statutory laws of the United States not locally inapplicable except as hereinbefore or hereinafter otherwise provided, shall have the same force and effect in Porto Rico as in the United States, except the internal revenue laws."

Porto Rico has its own income tax law but pays no federal income taxes. It does not have woman suffrage. It has a prohibition law in substance and standards the same as the Volstead Act, adopted by

a referendum of the people under a special act of Congress, and more widely accepted and better enforced than similar legislation in many other parts of the United States.

Economic Problems and Contrasts

Porto Ricans are a bit anxious lest Congress and the American people forget that the island is over-populated under its present productive economic system of agriculture and industry. Unfortunately its main reliance for some time to come is likely to be its agriculture, and almost a one-crop agriculture at that. Sugar, as Governor Horace M. Towner says in the recently published twenty-fifth annual report of the Governor of Porto Rico, has been for many years "the principal product and the main industry of Porto Rico. It has prospered largely because of the fact that it markets its product in the United States free of duty." Sugar can be produced at lower cost in Cuba, Santo Domingo, and elsewhere.

Diversification of agriculture and of industries will come in time as a result of the exceedingly able educational work and leadership of the present Department of Agriculture and Labor and the work of the Agricultural College and of the agricultural public schools. Encouraging signs are seen in the partial revival of the coffee industry through interesting coöperative marketing experiments, somewhat better conditions in tobacco, more considerable improvement in the small fruit industry, a recent expansion in the building, mechanical, and electrical trades, and a very large expansion in the clothing and needle trades which give profitable employment to thousands of women. Until this change has gone much farther and the advantages of diversified industrial and agricultural production are secure, we must continue our coöperation to the utmost.

Whatever considerations in the United States affect our sugar tariff it is at present the life blood of Porto Rico and will have to be retained for the protection of Porto Rico in the United States market, or a liberal graduated subsidy over a series of years will have to be provided. Anything else would make us recreant to a solemn obligation implied in all that we have done in Porto Rico, and heartless and ungrateful for the coöperation of the Porto Ricans in the interesting experiment in government that reflects so much credit

on the Republic. The Porto Ricans ought to be assured on that point.

Emigration and colonization are only temporary expedients of doubtful value and offer no final solution for Porto Rico's economic problem and over-population. Educational processes alone must be relied upon to improve, increase, and diversify production, and to raise the standard of living of the individual workers and their families. The leaders in education, industry, and agriculture, both officially and otherwise, are just beginning to face this fact and to adopt a far-reaching program that promises an ultimate solution of the over-population problem and the increased economic prosperity of those who live in Porto Rico.

Educational and Social Progress

An educational system has been built up in twenty-five years and its benefits pretty widely extended. It does not yet reach all, and it does not yet meet all the needs of the island. But illiteracy has been reduced from over 80 per cent. of a population that could neither read nor write to 45 per cent. The school buildings and equipment in many parts of the island would be a credit to the most prosperous communities in the United States. The spirit of the teachers and their devotion to their work, especially in the out-of-way rural communities, cannot be matched in corresponding communities in the States. The public school system lacks much, especially in trained personnel and in technical development and adaptation of its program. It has not been able as yet to bring back into its service the best of its products, men and women who have gone out to the United States and elsewhere for higher professional training. Most of these have yielded to more attractive opportunities and rewards elsewhere.

Hon. Juan B. Huyke, the first native Porto Rican Commissioner of Education has just completed four-years' service and has been reappointed for a second term. The University of Porto Rico, under its new Chancellor, Dr. Thomas E. Benner, has a millage tax that will yield a revenue of \$600,000 per year, bringing its total revenue up to perhaps \$750,000 annually, and is reaching out to new fields of public usefulness.

The Health Department has well in

hand, under the able leadership of Dr. Pedro Ortiz, a practical program which at a small annual expenditure gives good promise in four years more to purify the soil and remove the danger of reinfection from uncinariasis, the dreaded hook-worm disease, which has so long handicapped Porto Ricans. Dr. Bailey K. Ashford, and the workers in the Institute of Tropical Medicine, now become the school of Tropical Medicine of the University of Porto Rico, and affiliated with Columbia University, New York City, years ago discovered the cause and cure of this disease, but because of reinfection 90 per cent. of the population still suffer to some degree, although to an increasingly less degree, from this malady whose fatality has been conquered. Other effective measures for the reduction of infant mortality and for promoting the health and efficiency of the entire population are receiving attention from the Health Department.

I was not so much surprised at the great material changes in these twenty-five years. San Juan with its suburbs has become a beautiful modern city without losing its quaint and attractive old-world atmosphere. Ponce and Mayaguez have not such large skyscrapers but show even more marked signs of healthy development as we know it in the thriving smaller cities in the United States. The primary system of good roads throughout the island has been practically completed and a fair start made upon an excellent plan of feeders and secondary roads. Public buildings as well as school buildings everywhere reflect with great credit the intelligent use that has been made of the public revenues of Porto Rico during these twenty-five years.

My marvel was rather at the intangible signs of progress in the look and bearing of the average man on the street and especially of the *jibaro* in the country, who despite his low standard of living and his still inadequate economic opportunity, has made astonishing progress. The indomitable spirit of a people looking forward and encouraged by what they have achieved during the past twenty-five years can be pretty safely relied upon to carry forward the work already begun and to show themselves worthy of the further confidence and coöperation of the American people.

THE BATTLE OF GENEVA

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

By far the most interesting event since the making of the Locarno Pact, itself, has been the still recent struggle at Geneva, where the nations which had united to make the peace of Locarno sought to bring the system which they had formulated into harmony with the League of Nations by the admission of Germany.

The struggle which resulted at Geneva is one of the most intricate and complicated of all contemporary European events; and the very wealth of subordinate but relatively important circumstances makes any succinct narrative almost impossible. Not even the Paris conference to make peace—which the latest international conference resembled in its tragic moments, as it was like the last Democratic national convention in its comic aspects—was more involved.

Rising above all other details were the two unmistakable crises: One was between the Locarno powers, which produced the first and larger row at Geneva, the row which was ultimately adjusted. The other crisis was within the League of Nations, which, having led to many secondary upheavals, finally (through the veto of Brazil) blocked German entrance into the League, reduced to a fiasco the whole session of the Assembly, and gravely injured the prestige of the League itself. In the present account I shall first deal with the two distinct disturbances, and then try to indicate where they merged.

I. The Locarno Powers

THE crisis within the ranks of the Locarno powers had its origin in the rather general reaction from Locarno which I noted in my last month's article from Paris. Locarno was a very high point in European conciliation, and it was inevitable that there should be a reaction. This reaction was marked in three countries—Germany, France, and Italy. In Britain it was practically non-existent, for the arrangements made at Locarno suited all British interests and all British policy, and political parties agreed that it must be supported.

In Germany the attack upon Locarno came both from the radicals and the conservatives, from the Communists and the Nationalists. The more serious criticism naturally was that of the Nationalists, who alleged that at Locarno Germany had surrendered much and obtained nothing. And Luther and Stresemann, whose position is far from secure, were compelled to pad the actual gains with more or less hazardous claims for the future—claims for the early evacuation of the Rhineland, the removal of French opposition to German suppression of the Polish Corridor, and the like. The

German press, too, went much further and began to talk about the realization of the union with Austria.

But France at once took alarm at this German operation, which seemed to be no more than a deliberate purpose to tear up the Treaty of Versailles. Briand, like Stresemann, was attacked by strong Nationalist elements. His situation, much more precarious than that of his German associate of Locarno, was such that he, too, had to take steps to fortify his position. As the Germans sought to increase the visible gains of Locarno, he endeavored to reduce them.

The line Briand took was unwise, doubtless; but there is nothing to suggest bad faith. There had long been an agitation within the League in favor of increasing the membership of the Council, which had remained at ten. The admission of Germany opened the way for a more general increase, and Briand proposed that Spain, Brazil, and Poland should be admitted to permanent seats. Of course what interested France was the presence of Poland, for Poland was a French ally, and it was

against Poland that the burden of German agitation for the revision of the peace treaties was directed.

In a rash moment Sir Austen Chamberlain agreed to this Briand proposal, but neither took the trouble to sound out Germany; and the whole operation of proposing the candidacies followed Locarno and was not mentioned at that time. Chamberlain's assent really gave the Briand proposal a serious character which it might otherwise have lacked. Mussolini having also, in the meantime, entered into a dispute with Germany over the Italian Tyrol, Italy gladly supported Poland.

The German response to this Briand proposal, when at last it became public, was immediate and unanimous. The whole country rose in wrath and declared Germany had been tricked and insulted and that the idea of flooding the council and counterbalancing the German by the Polish vote was intolerable. Driven by this uproar, the German Chancellor, Dr. Luther, went to Hamburg and declared publicly that Germany would refuse to enter the League unless she came alone and under the Council conditions which existed at the moment of Locarno.

The situation was further complicated by a sudden and striking revolt in Britain against Sir Austen Chamberlain because of his assent to the Briand proposal. The Liberal and Labor press, and a portion of the Tory, proceeded to assail Chamberlain. It was known that the Cabinet was divided; and, while the Foreign Secretary escaped humiliating instructions tying his hands, he went with the foreknowledge that the majority of his countrymen opposed the French proposal to admit Poland and would not tolerate his adhesion to the French thesis if that adhesion threatened to produce a deadlock at Geneva and prevented the admission of Germany. Thus, as a consequence of the domestic storm in Britain, not only was Chamberlain actually reduced to a cipher at Geneva, but Germany was encouraged to continue her opposition to Poland.

Moreover, the row between Mussolini and Berlin again and even more seriously complicated the situation, because it suddenly brought all observers down from the clouds and demonstrated the limitations on the far-famed "spirit of Locarno." In what he said to the Germans there was nothing of the spirit of any conciliation

whatsoever. On the contrary, Mussolini told them quite frankly that Italy would oppose with arms, if necessary, the union of Austria with Germany and made certain vague but minatory suggestions of Italian activity on the northern side of the Brenner Pass.

And at the same time he was using strong words, Mussolini was taking drastic action; for treaties were made or in the making both with Yugoslavia and with Rumania, which had the apparent purpose to line up all three nations against any German advance to Vienna. This policy of blocking German expansion was further extended by an Italian support of the Polish candidacy.

By the time the Geneva Conference had assembled, then, you had the most complicated of all possible situations. The Franco-German dispute over the Polish candidacy had reached a deadlock, and it was plain that the battle between these two nations would be the first large fact in the meeting. But Italy was also plainly becoming filled with Anti-German intentions; and, since Italy was always anti-League, nothing was more likely than that Rome might seize the opportunity to torpedo the League itself.

Thus on the eve of the meeting, there was little left of the spirit of Locarno. Germany had issued an ultimatum in advance, firmly insisting that she would enter alone or not at all. France had accepted the defiance, and Briand was bound to get Poland in or suffer such a defeat abroad as to insure his fall at home. Both the German and French ministries were so weak that a reverse for either was bound to be fatal. Indeed, in point of fact, on the day on which the German delegation left Berlin, it was astounded en route to learn the Briand cabinet had fallen.

This fall added one more complicating circumstance, for Briand could come to Geneva only for a moment and speak without authority, and then post home to Paris and make a new cabinet. While he was absent, too, the conference had to wait, the lines became drawn even more sharply, and the bitterness was accentuated by press battles carried on from London, Paris, and Berlin. By the time Briand got back, having formed a new but even more shaky cabinet, Geneva was in an uproar, the spirit of Locarno had been replaced by that of Kilkenny, and the confusion and incoherence beggared description.

II. A Scramble for Seats

So much for the quarrel between the Locarno powers. But at the same time there was developing a new manifestation of a very old League state of mind. The Council, which is in all but name the controlling body, is composed of ten members, four of whom (Japan, Britain, France, and Italy) are styled great powers. In addition, Spain, Belgium, Sweden, and Czechoslovakia represented Europe and Brazil and Uruguay South America. Only the great powers have occupied permanent seats, although it was proposed to bestow one more such seat upon Germany.

For years the League had been divided, first over the question of the Council, whose authority the smaller states resented; and, secondly, by the rival aspirations of various states to further permanent seats. Spain had long aspired to such a seat and had long been promised it. Brazil demanded one in the name of America. For Poland, France and Italy now asked a third. Finally, all the Locarno powers in a body asked a permanent seat for Germany.

For the majority of the League members, however, Locarno was not by any means an unmixed blessing. The great powers, having agreed to kill the Protocol, which was the League's creation, had gone off by themselves and made a bargain outside the League, which included the bestowal upon Germany of a permanent seat without the consent or even approval of the League. Now, to preserve the bargains made outside the League and satisfy the aspirations of various countries, it was proposed to create not one but four new permanent seats.

Against this there was an open revolt, and Sweden took the drastic step of announcing that she would veto all new seats save that for Germany. Since the Council must have a unanimous vote, that blocked the whole proceeding. The French therefore faced the possibility that even if a compromise were reached with Germany, Poland would not be admitted. This Swedish step was put down in many quarters to German sympathies; but that is hardly justifiable, for Sweden had always the support of other neutrals of the war, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Switzerland. And it had even wider if less open support in the League. Actually it was a revolt against the effort of the great powers

to use the Council of the League as the "small change" of their own bargains.

Hard on the Swedish announcement, which naturally produced a panic, came the Spanish declaration that if Spain were not granted the seat promised her for many years, the permanent seat, she would veto Germany's entrance, retire from the League, and ultimately resign. Again the Spanish move was put down to France and Italy, and interpreted as the answer to Germany's move through Sweden. But at the least there are enough facts in the case to warrant the conclusion that Spain acted upon her own initiative.

In any event, while Briand and Stresemann were vainly striving to find some compromise which would cover the Polish question, their discussions were rendered more or less unimportant by the fact that there were now on record declarations from two nations which if maintained would make all Franco-German agreement useless, since neither Germany nor Poland would be admitted. At this moment Germany was saying that she would not come in save alone; France was insisting that Poland must accompany Germany; Sweden was saying that no one but Germany should be admitted; Spain was roundly asserting that Germany should not come unless she herself came also.

Finally, to put a cap on the climax, Brazil suddenly announced that she would veto everybody if she did not have a permanent seat. This announcement took the session by surprise and was long regarded with little real seriousness. Yet this was an obvious error, because, when Germany had addressed letters to the various members of the Council inquiring their attitude in view of Germany's purpose to apply for admission to the League, Brazil's response had been vague and equivocal. Thus when the Brazilian veto blocked everything, no one could indict Brazil for having failed to keep her pledge, which would have been the case had any other nation interposed its veto. It remains a matter of profound wonder why no one at the time saw the Brazilian warning, but none did.

What Brazil was driving at remained a puzzle after all else had been disposed of. Was Brazil influenced by France, by Italy, even by Spain? The charge was frequently

made. Yet at the least Brazil made a good case for her stand. She has precisely as good a right to veto all increases as Sweden to forbid all but the German admission. Her voice was explained as due to the desire to defend the League against a deliberate invasion by the Locarno states, which were obviously using the League as a mere recording machine for their arrangements made with precious little regard for the League. And, in the last analysis, Brazil was the single considerable extra-European state—apart from Japan, which was painfully bored with the whole episode and, as usual, eager to keep out of the broil.

III. A Futile Compromise

Briand returned on Thursday, March 11. All that day and Friday the Germans held their ground. Their position was really unassailable. They had made a treaty at Locarno; they had accepted the condition that they should enter the League; they had come to Geneva to make good. No one had ever officially informed them of any purpose to admit Poland with them, to swell the membership of the Council. The Polish circumstance was little more than a deliberate insult. They were ready to give any sort of assurance that once on the League Council they would not exercise their veto to exclude Poland; but beyond this point they would not go.

But by Saturday their position was weakening, for the simple reason that the impression was gaining that while Briand, in the interests of conciliation, was making all sorts of concessions and seeking all sorts of compromises, Stresemann was obstinately and stubbornly preventing any adjustment. The hour now came when Germany had to say "yes" to something, or go home. She was still justified in going, if she chose; but to go meant to wreck Locarno, to lose all that had been gained, and above all to sacrifice the last chance of hastening the Allied evacuation of the Rhineland, the main presumptive benefit for Germany of the whole Locarno pact.

Accordingly, by Sunday rumors began to circulate that a way had been found. But such a way! Sweden had offered to resign her seat on the Council, thus making a vacancy for Poland without increasing the membership. But Germany had objected, pointing out that Sweden alone represented

Explain the Brazilian step as one may, the fact is that all of a sudden an important European adjustment was held up, the admission of a great European power to the League was prevented by the immutable determination of a South American state to have a permanent seat in the Council—or, at least, to force the submission of the whole matter of the increase of the Council to the Assembly—that is, to the larger body of the League where fifty-six nations are represented, instead of ten as in the Council. But I am anticipating, and it is now necessary to go back to the Franco-German phase.

a European neutral, and that the Swedish seat was already mortgaged to Holland in usual succession. Then it was suggested that both Sweden and Czechoslovakia resign, Holland succeeding Sweden and Poland taking Czechoslovakia's place. To this device Germany assented. The Franco-German dispute was over.

The solution enabled Stresemann to say in Germany that he had held his ground and prevented any increase in the League, but that, obviously, if in advance of German entrance there were resignations and elections, Germany could not justly protest without seeming to attempt to dictate while not yet inside. It enabled Briand to say that he had obtained a seat for Poland, a temporary seat to be sure, running out in September, but a seat, nevertheless. Sweden could withdraw her veto, because her principle had been established also. As for Spain, since there were no new seats save the German, Spain could rest on the very general assurance that her turn would come in September and that she would have all the Locarno powers for her.

But suddenly it was discovered that Brazil was just where she had been steadily, and then began one of the most ridiculous and frantic efforts to exercise pressure at Rio de Janeiro and persuasion in Geneva. All day Tuesday right up to evening, and the final session of the Council before the last and decisive Assembly meeting of Wednesday, March 17, the struggle went forward. But to requests, appeals, threats, arguments, Melo Franco, the Brazilian representative, remained obdurate. By 8 o'clock on Tuesday night Geneva knew

that the session must end in a fiasco, and that Germany would not get in.

Faced with this situation, the Locarno powers essayed a last attempt to save their own handiwork. All signed a manifesto insisting that the pacts, although legally still not yet complete, should be morally binding and that all should proceed in the spirit of Locarno until the September session, when Germany would come in. Meantime, they declared, the League should name a commission to wrestle with the whole question of enlarging the Council, and Germany should be represented, unofficially, on this body and on any commission sitting to consider disarmament conferences.

The following morning, in a doleful Assembly session, the fight was dragged into the open. Brazil made good the threat it had made, and Germany got no more than a "moral adoption."

Such, stripped of all unessential details is the story of Geneva. But no human pen could describe the madness, the excitement, the confusion, the stupidity of the whole performance. The powers of Europe had made a great and noble peace agreement at Locarno. It remained only to seal the agreement by admitting Germany to the League. Yet in the first stages of the Geneva sessions all was prevented because the powers who had made the noble accord disagreed over the allotment of a permanent, and, finally, of a temporary seat, to another nation.

Of course the real struggle was not over a chair, but over every sort of issue of prestige, power, influence. Not at Paris when the Big Four and the Big Five met was there more secrecy, more bargaining, more of the old-fashioned diplomacy. It was a battle between powers for position, for all the circumstances of international influence. And on all sides it was a wholly undisguised exhibition of selfishness and pettiness. East Side pushcart peddlers in New York City would easily disclose a far wiser and more enlightened spirit in their daily dealings with each other.

When the fight between the great powers was over and the settlement at the expense of the small had been reached, then the contending nations began to praise each other, to celebrate the love of peace which prevailed amongst all, and to describe everything which had happened as carrying no menace to the peace of Europe, to the

Franco-German adjustment, to anything but, perhaps, the unhappy League, which had failed for reasons which to these statesmen were at once incomprehensible and regrettable.

Forced at the end—after having brought an old-fashioned European contest for time-honored or dishonored objects to Geneva and into the League—to find some explanation for the fiasco, the Locarno powers with one accord and with patent hypocrisy pointed to the League and repeated in unison that Locarno was not responsible and was not injured. Yet from first to last, even when the Locarno pact was made last year, these powers had never thought of the League. From first to last they had acted always as if the League were no more than a machine for registering the decisions of the great powers and their humble followers among the smaller powers.

In all the discussions the League was never present or represented at Geneva, save as the representatives of the great powers were also members of the League, which was a detail. The Assembly—which is the League, the body where fifty-six nations are represented—in all the days of the real Franco-German crisis could go no further than to adopt a resolution appropriating money for a new building. It was not consulted, it was not considered, it had no more relation to the actual crisis and the real discussions than the legislature of New York State.

The relation of the League to the affair was simple: it supplied a battle-ground where the great powers of Europe met and fought for the same issues which they have contended for centuries, now in council and now on the battle-field. But of any institution, influence, force, making for adjustment and itself instinct in the League, there was nothing.

It was not as a member of the Council and inspired by the Spirit of the League that M. Briand acted. No! At all times he spoke and worked as the Prime Minister of France, as the representative of a national opinion so excited, so committed to peculiar national rights that his own office would end if he made any large surrender of French interests. It was the same with all others. There were only Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers present. They were there only to conduct national policies.

There has been always an idea in the United States that in some fashion there

was building up at Geneva an institution which would be above national policies and control national representatives, that if not a superstate at least a supernatural morality, was finding there a powerful field of action. But nothing could have been further from the fact at this session. There was a French spirit, a German spirit, a British spirit; but there was no league spirit.

The Geneva hotels were filled with the delegates and visitors who came from foreign countries to see a real League triumph, men and women who had worked for the League and believed in it; and there was nothing more tragic than the spectacle of all these people sitting helpless and idle while representatives of the great powers quarreled, threatened, bartered, and bluffed.

IV. The League Loses Prestige

What, then, has been the effect of this Geneva fiasco upon the League itself? It is plain at once that the League has suffered a grave loss of prestige. At its first real test it has been disclosed as quite powerless to deal with what might have been a great opportunity. More than this, one must see that there have been two crises, one within the League and one affecting the League but actually originating outside.

The fact that one nation can block everything whenever it happens to hold a seat on the Council—as Sweden, Spain, and finally Brazil, undertook to do—discloses a situation not much different from that of the famous or notorious *Liberum veto* of Polish history, which proved the undoing of that state. Moreover, looking backward, it was recalled with emphasis that two years ago, when Italy went to Corfu, effective protest by the League was prevented because the Italian operation coincided with the meeting of the Assembly, and more than one nation, anxious to hold its seat in the Council, refrained from action critical of Italy. If it did otherwise, was the express warning, it would lose the important vote of Italy itself.

Plainly, if all action by the Council in times of crisis is to be affected by candidacy for a seat within the Council, if politics of this sort are to become a feature of the League organization, then the limitation upon its usefulness is obvious. Again, whatever else may be said, it is a matter for grave consideration that a European settlement, accepted by all the great and smaller European states (as the final Franco-German compromise was) can be blocked by a South American state which has no real concern in the premises and acts solely with a view to its own or its continent's view of the League. In aiming to be universal, the League has quite patently exposed itself to grave dangers.

The development of a whole system of politics and rivalries and aspirations within the League, quite analogous to those which more and more tend to paralyze European parliaments and create blocs, must be remarked and must in the end be faced and surmounted if the League is to be adjusted on a basis which permits even a moderate amount of useful service. If seats in the Council are the be-all and the end-all of national participation, then the League's service is bound to be narrowly circumscribed.

On the other hand, one must perceive that there is much to be said for the contention of the smaller states that the great powers are using the League as a mere adjunct to their own policies. A decision by three great powers at Locarno, followed by another decision by these powers outside of Locarno and the League, to expand the membership of the Council without regard to the League, leaving to it only the power to register acceptance, makes the League an insignificant affair after all.

But if the League itself is passing through a constitutional crisis, if the whole machinery has been disclosed on the first serious test as practicably unworkable, it remains true that the main trouble is not here. If, as in the recent case, the great powers are to continue to act outside the League; if their representatives at Geneva—whether Prime Ministers or simple delegates—are to be no more than the exponents of national policy; if France, Germany, when she joins, Italy, Britain, are simply to send to Geneva men to advance national interests; if the League is to be no more than the battle-ground of national policies, then one must reconstruct all previous ideas.

In the recent case, no one could imagine that Briand, Chamberlain, or Scialoja was speaking for the League or as a repre-

sentative of the League. Nor would the case have been different with Stresemann, had Germany been a member. Actually the League was not represented in all of the discussions. It had been convoked to admit Germany, but could not act because the Council was engaged in a battle between rival national policies and the several members were concerned not with preserving or enhancing the moral influence of the League, but in fighting out a battle between France and Germany.

One must perceive, then, quite unmistakably, that the League is not a force, a power, or even an influence. It is at most a method, a machinery, and a place. If the great powers are agreed, then the meeting can take place at Geneva, the method of joint action can operate, and the machinery of the League can be used to bring about the desired result.

It can work in the case of Austrian or Hungarian finance. It can work in the case of Greco-Bulgarian quarrels. It can work at any time when all the great powers are united to bring about a common result.

But it cannot work when France and Britain, for example, are divided. It cannot work in the future when Germany and France may be divided, because there is no machinery to operate and the members of the Council will inevitably take sides as their own interests or alliances may dictate. If, as may well happen, France and Britain take one view and Italy and Germany another, there are left no powers to act to compel these four great nations to adjust their differences. Some of the small powers will join Germany and Italy, others France and Britain; more will remain outside the area of battle but without authority to speak in the name of the League.

Moreover, there is no such thing as world opinion bearing down upon dominating conflicting national opinions. On the contrary, as happened the other day at Geneva, we must expect that national opinions will with violence demand of their respective national representatives that they surrender nothing and stand to their guns at any price. That is what French, Italian, and German public opinion did; and no overwhelming world opinion has been audible.

It was more than an accident that the first appearance of Germany should have coincided with this battle, for the coming of Germany marks the first touch of reality in the League. Hitherto it has been in the

main the surviving combination of the victors of the war, and its main function has been to preserve the decisions of the war. It has been able to function only when the victors could agree, but there has been no great vanquished power present. Henceforth, however, with Germany present, the situation changes. And if Russia should enter an even greater modification might take place.

Looking at what did actually happen at Geneva, I do not see how one can escape the conviction that for the present the League can be useful only when the great European powers agree, that its main activities are to be European to an increasing degree for the next few years, and that it is to be rather a battle-ground of rival European purposes than the seat of an institution which can by exercise of moral force or any other force promote peace or prevent war.

Certainly the League can perform useful services in the relatively minor and non-contentious fields of international activity. Beyond any doubt it will become more and more an important meeting place for the statesmen and journalists of all countries. But unless the great powers have agreed before they come to Geneva, no one can see any way to avoid precisely what happened on the recent occasion, and all can perceive how little use the League would prove in time of great crisis if there was an absolute break between great powers such as existed on the eve of the World War.

After all, the stakes in the latest international conflict were relatively small. In the end the whole battle came down to whether Poland should have a seat in March or September, and whether it should be a permanent or a temporary seat. Yet over this trivial issue the whole League machinery was turned upside down. Intrigues, combinations, quarrels, filled the days and nights; chaos and worse than chaos, a situation of passion and excitement and incoherence which beggars description, ensued.

All the lip service paid to the League by the representatives of the great powers could not and did not disguise the fact that all, with equal disregard of the League, had carried on the familiar kind of diplomatic struggle. Without the smallest compunction they had sacrificed the prestige of the League and shaken the faith and blasted the hopes of many thousands for whom it was an ideal and a promise.

It was not the League which failed, in the last analysis. Despite obvious limitations, it was the great powers—which, despite all their professions, acted within the circle of the League, exactly as if it were not in existence, and exactly as they had acted in the days before the war itself.

What collapsed at Geneva was the conception of a League strong enough to compel the great powers to abandon selfish struggles and submit their quarrels to the settlement of the League itself. What the great powers actually did was to shoulder the League out of the premises and totally disregard not only its interests but its principles. It was as if members of a church, having gone to divine service, should suddenly have resumed a quarrel begun outside, and interrupted and prevented any divine service while they carried on a battle in the spirit of a bar-room.

And if the United States had been represented, we should have had to choose between remaining idly by during the battle or taking the side of one set of nations against the other. We might have backed Germany, we might have backed France,

but we could not have backed the League because it was not represented. And had we interfered on one side we should have earned the hatred of the other, merely to assist in giving Poland a seat in March or condemning her to wait until September.

Does any one imagine, after this recent exhibition, that any arms conference held under the auspices of the League can come to any useful result, while nations remain divided on every single issue which would be involved in such a conference? After all, the battle this time was over more or less unimportant prestige; but in the case of limitation of armaments it would represent issues which stand for life or death in the minds of many countries. Measured by the degree of intensity of the fight over the Polish chair, one can calculate how bitter would be the contest over the question, say, of the abolition of conscription, the abandonment of submarines, or the rigid limitation of air forces.

In any event, it must be clear now, as I have written in this magazine before, that Europe is still a long distance from any real disarmament conference.

V. Conclusion

And what shall one conclude from the Geneva episode with respect of Europe? That it is in a warlike mood? Certainly not. After all, the only considerable European dispute—that between France and Germany over the Polish seat—was not only settled amicably, but the settlement was followed by an expression of good feeling on both sides. This had its climax in the words of M. Briand paying a tribute to the attitude of the German representatives, which undoubtedly exceeded in warmth and feeling anything that a Frenchman has said about a German not merely since 1914 but actually since 1870.

In point of fact, if one conclusion stands out above all others in the confusion of Geneva it is that Franco-German relations are not only better than at any moment since the war, but also that the process of improvement is likely to continue. When I contrast the feelings which I found in Berlin with respect of France just a year ago, with what the German statesmen and journalists said to me here at Geneva, the evidence of change is impressive. A year ago Germany was still under the impression

that the French would never leave the Rhine or consent to German recovery. No German with whom I talked now fears any French refusal to retire from Mayence or even from Saarbrücken, or French interference with German recovery.

What remains the one grave barrier to complete Franco-German adjustment is not any difference directly between the two countries, but rather the French championship of Poland. Alsace-Lorraine is not a present cause of German resentment. The questions of evacuation are annoying, but not of any permanent value, for sooner or later the French must retire.

But if German feeling toward France is changing, German resentment and bitterness toward Poland is not. Germany made the whole battle at Geneva on the issue of the Polish seat; and I do not believe there is a man, woman, or child in Germany who does not mean to work to the end that his country recovers the Polish Corridor, Danzig, and Upper Silesia. If France means to remain the guarantor of Polish integrity, Franco-German relations will not in any present time become simple or friendly.

But beyond all else, Geneva was plain proof of the extent to which French influence has declined. Three years ago France was the dominating Continental power and had revealed her strength in the Ruhr occupation. Then she had surrounded herself with smaller states. The Little Entente obeyed her impulse while Poland and Belgium were allies. Italy was not a factor, and Britain was compelled to watch idly while French troops entered the Ruhr.

To-day Italy, far more than France, has, become the real force behind the Little Entente. It is Italy, not France, which blocks the way to Austrian union with Germany, and, at Geneva, Italy was even an outspoken champion of the Polish claim to a permanent seat in the Council. The financial crisis, the disarray of French domestic politics, these have combined to weaken the French situation until France not only is no more the dominant power but hardly counts as a great power at all.

Viewed in calm retrospect, it does not seem to me that Geneva quite bears out the alleged statements of Ambassador Houghton that Europe has learned nothing from the war or that it is returning to the old ideas. It is perfectly true that all the old forces and methods were disclosed at Geneva, as they will be probably at all other European councils for many a decade to come. It is true that the whole performance was European in its character, but in the end I think it was made perfectly clear that no one European nation was prepared to wreck the Geneva meeting or destroy the Locarno pact.

Geneva doubtless demonstrated that European diplomacy has not changed its methods, just as it proved how futile the League machinery itself was in the face of a division of the great powers. But nevertheless there was far more good-nature and a far greater degree of conciliation visible than the despatches from Geneva or any other interested European capital would suggest. Indeed, the good nature, the absence of passionate denunciation were the outstanding circumstances.

Remembering that this was the first time all the European nations, save Russia, have met since the World War, remembering how recent that great convulsion still is, one might easily find cause for surprise and optimism, in the absence of anything to recall the painful facts. Europe did not agree; on the contrary it quarreled,

caballed, even conspired, if you please, although the word is too strong. But there was nothing of the spirit of the "last ditch" or the language of the "bloody shirt." There was an open battle for prestige between France and Germany, though it was actually conducted with more of the sporting spirit of a tennis match than the fury of a prize fight.

When the conference was over, Briand sent for the German journalists and made them a brief speech, the effect of which cannot be exaggerated. The result was that the Germans went home without one bitter feeling. It was their first time as an equal in a real European assembly. They came with obvious doubt and hesitation. They were prepared, perhaps not unnaturally, for an uncomfortable time, but in the end went home with whatever of prestige there was gained at Geneva.

All told, Geneva was a German victory. It was a victory, in the first place, because they did not have to see Poland seated and yet escaped responsibility for the failure. It was a triumph because Germany again showed her flag, and there was the actual if rather intangible sense of her return as a force and as a great power to the European field. Finally, the German representatives, conducted themselves with a moderation and a simple frankness and good faith which did more than all else to enhance German reputation and suggest that there was a new spirit in Germany.

No one will ever again think of excluding Germany from a European council on the basis of the war. That period and that psychology are over.

Paradoxical as it may seem, my impression was that Europe was destined to go on quarreling peacefully for a long time, with occasional interludes of agreement like Locarno and no present danger of any serious collision. And if Franco-German relations are actually the critical point in the European situation, Geneva warranted the hope that they will improve strikingly just as they have already bettered amazingly in three years.

But by contrast, no artificial and premature effort to arrive at disarmament, or any other arrangement such as American public opinion supports, can be anything but a delusion and even a danger—a delusion because it cannot come now, a danger because to force it may reopen old wounds and provoke fresh disputes.



WRAPPING PRINT BUTTER IN A BUTTER-ASSEMBLING PLANT OWNED AND OPERATED BY MINNESOTA AND WISCONSIN FARMERS

THE NORTHWESTERN FARMER IN BUSINESS

BY CHARLES W. HOLMAN

AFTER a visit to that region, I am convinced that the Northwest has cast off its inky cloak. During the past four years its residents have had much reason for gloom. Low agricultural prices brought severe financial losses to country and town.

But this spring season has brought with it a new hope. The Northwestern survivors of the four-year economic storm now are heartened by signs of returning prosperity. Farm-land values have begun to rise and each community is reporting a few land sales—an infallible sign of recovery in a developing section. Farmers are doing more buying; the pure-bred livestock breeders are again doing fair business; and there are other signs. But the Big Discovery is that while they were in the depths of economic depression the Northwestern people started in motion their own self-help machinery.

Of course, while the pain was keenest, they called for outside help. The wheat growers asked for the McNary-Haugen bill to stabilize prices of farm products. The Twin City business interests besought Uncle Sam to provide \$50,000,000 for loans to expert wheat growers who might desire to become amateur dairymen and pig producers. The banks sought federal funds to relieve themselves of the burden of carrying often more than half their capital in farm mortgage loans. And the merchants

invoked curses upon the mail-order houses.

Uncle Sam did not help very much. A little money went up to the Northwest bankers; but neither the McNary-Haugen bill nor the \$50,000,000 "diversification bill" has yet passed the Congress.

This inaction threw the Northwest back upon its own resources, and the people themselves began to work out solutions of their own. The banks practically abolished their custom of lending money to farmers on character, by which the country had been developed.

Making the Farm More Efficient

During this period the bankers became collectors rather than lenders, and they shuddered every time they heard of a farmer buying a new radio set or an automobile. The bankers put pressure on the farmers to go on a cash-buying basis. Meantime the farmers, being somewhat suspicious of the financial standing of their local banks, fell into the habit of keeping their savings in cash at home. They adopted the cash-buying habit on many things and purchased from mail-order houses whenever they could make a saving. During this time many banks consolidated in order to strengthen their resources and weather the storm.

The farmers began to study their own business with keen eyes for curtailment of

home expenses, making the old tools do the work and letting the hired men, when possible, go to town and get other employment. They lengthened their own work hours for all members of the family.

The economy fever reached the public purse. Pressed by the rapid increase of State and community taxes, the people called on their public officials for economies. This led to a study of the question. Gov. Theodore Christianson, of Minnesota, has worked out a plan for shrinking State expenditures through simplification of departmental organization. But each community will have to face the problem of local taxes.

But what the farmers themselves have done, in addition to their production programs, is a noteworthy and dramatic contribution to the story of the Northwest's come-back.

Progress of Farmers' Elevators

Let us begin with grain. A large percentage of the grain growers in these States already are members of several hundred farmer-owned elevator companies. These companies have been effective in cutting the handling costs of grain, but they have not yet been able to solve the larger problem of selling the grain in terminal markets. Recently growers have formed one or two large-scale organizations which are taking the place of the commission houses in selling products for their members.

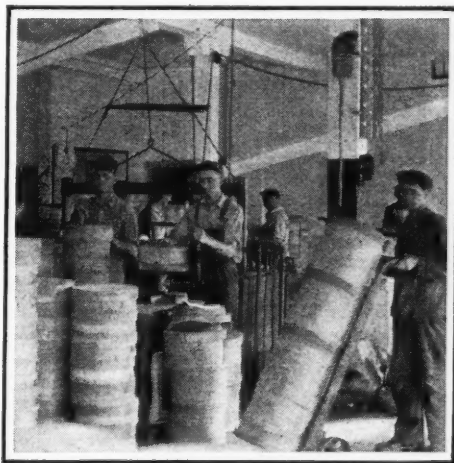
Advance in Marketing Livestock

The livestock producers have a more encouraging record. Coöperative marketing of livestock began on a local scale at Litchfield, Minn., in 1908. The success of the local association led to the formation of several hundred similar ones. These organizations, however, were competing with each other, and in 1920, at the beginning of the post-war drop in agricultural prices, they took steps to form a central coöperative commission house of their own. A few months later, the Central Coöperative Commission Association of South St. Paul came into existence. Its voting membership consists of local coöperative shipping associations, which now number 670. Its preferred stock is owned by about 1600 individual producers. The commission house now has a capital of \$26,500 and a permanent reserve of over \$75,000 accumulated out of profits.

According to General Manager J. S. Montgomery, the association is now selling the product of approximately 100,000 live-stock producers in Minnesota, Wisconsin, the Dakotas, and Montana. Last year it handled 987,075 head of hogs, 135,847 head of cattle, 175,040 head of calves, and 70,115 head of sheep. Its gross sales totaled \$34,346,912. This was approximately one-fourth of the entire business done on the South St. Paul market. Its commission charges to members averaged one-fourth less than that charged by the private commission houses, and in addition, last year, after paying all operating expenses, the association had a net income of \$113,500.

Finding Cheese Markets

The Northwest now has a regional agency to market its cheese. It is the Wisconsin Cheese Producers' Federation. This organization had its small beginnings thirteen years ago, when Sheboygan County farmers revolted against the thralldom of the private cheese buyers. At that time the private dealers were taking from 6¼ to 12½ cents out of every dollar's worth of cheese bought from the farmer. The industry was already dominated by the Chicago packers, who were purchasing about 80 per cent. of the entire supply of the State. The farmer had discovered that the so-called "cheese boards," where prices were made, were controlled by the cheese buyers. Under



A SCENE IN ONE OF SEVEN DISTRICT WAREHOUSES OF THE WISCONSIN AND MINNESOTA CHEESE PRODUCERS

(This federation of farmers handles nearly fifty tons of cheese each working day)

the leadership of the late State Senator Henry Krumrey, of Sheboygan County, a few hundred banded together for the co-operative sale of their cheese. The plan used was for the farmers around each local cheese factory to form into a local association; the associations, in turn, were members of the Federation. About forty-five locals were formed and a total capital of \$700 was raised. It was necessary to build an assembling plant for the grading and storing of the cheese, and a special stock company was formed to erect a \$25,000 establishment. In time the Federation bought this plant out of undivided profits.

With everything to learn about cheese marketing before them, and severe handicaps of no capital, adverse freight rate differentials on their product, and being unknown to the trade, this little organization valiantly began its uphill climb. The Federation rigidly inspected every pound of cheese handled, and guaranteed its quality and grade. This cheese was sold under two brands—one called "Federation" and the other "Mello-Creme." In 1914 the Federation sold over 6,000,000 pounds of cheese; in 1920 it sold about 14,000,000 pounds; last year it sold nearly 20,000,000 pounds. In no year have its costs exceeded 3.43 cents for each dollar's worth of cheese handled.

At the end of 1925 the Federation had \$53,000 in undivided profits. It was operating five district warehouses in Wisconsin and two in Minnesota. It had more than 200 associations in its membership, and was selling cheese in thirty-seven States. Frank G. Swoboda, general manager, estimates that its work has saved Northwestern farmers on the average of three cents or more a pound.

Organizing the Fluid Milk Producers

After months of agitation leading dairy-men of Minnesota and Wisconsin formed the Twin City Milk Producers' Association in 1916. It embraced farmers within the forty-mile zone around Minneapolis and St. Paul. At first the milk distributors in the Twin Cities refused to recognize the organization; so the leaders went out and secured more members. They were then strong enough to force recognition; but their troubles had just begun. Their directors were arrested, charged with forming a monopoly and conspiring to fix milk prices. "The resulting trial did much to

strengthen the organization and inflame the coöperative spirit of the producers," declared President W. F. Schilling, who was one of the indicted leaders.

After winning the trial, the farmers embarked upon a far-reaching program. It had for its object the ownership of the country milk plants supplying the cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, and the installation of wholesale distributing facilities in the Twin Cities. The association now owns fifteen efficient plants. Secretary W. S. Moscrip stated that last year the association did a business of \$7,500,000 for its 6,500 members.

Each year the association has successfully marketed an increasing amount of milk above the requirements of the Twin Cities. Eight years ago it handled a milk surplus of 70,000,000 pounds. Last year this surplus amounted to 276,000,000 pounds. It makes the surplus into cheese, butter, skimmed milk, skimmed powder, casein ice-cream and condensed milk.

Other successful coöperative fluid milk associations are located at Milwaukee, and at the twin ports of Duluth and Superior.

Rise of the Butter Coöperative

In the past five years butter producers of the Northwest have formed a great coöperative marketing organization. This was the outgrowth of an older movement which had created 650 coöperative creameries in Minnesota, 250 in Wisconsin, and 150 in Iowa, all situated in a territory which might easily be served by a central organization. Nearly all of these creameries produced butter from unsoured cream.

For years these coöperative creameries had been competing not only with the great centralizers, but with each other. Still it required the pressure of hard times to force them to work together. The federation idea took root in 1921, and several hundred creameries in Minnesota became members of the Minnesota Coöperative Creameries' Association. Among the leaders were A. J. McGuire, then a professor in the University of Minnesota, and John Brandt, of Litchfield, Minnesota, a prominent dairy farmer. McGuire was destined to become secretary and Brandt president of the organization. The first step was to divide the creameries into districts, place a butter inspector in charge of each district, and begin educational work for a fairly uniform high-quality butter. These inspectors not

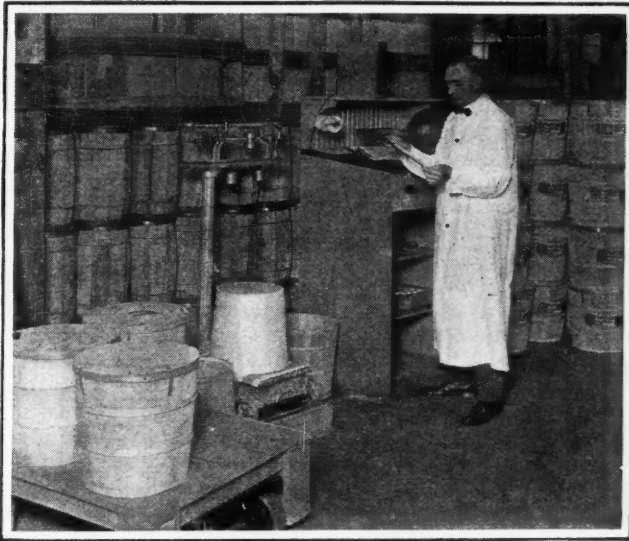
only worked with the butter makers in the creameries, but visited the farmers and told them how to improve their methods of milk production. The association also operated a purchasing department for the benefit of the member creameries.

Toward the end of the third year the creameries were ready to begin co-operative selling through the association. One large warehouse was leased in St. Paul and another in Duluth. An expert butter salesman was employed and arrangements were made for the Federal Government inspector in the State of Minnesota to weigh, inspect, and grade every churning of butter shipped by the creameries.

The association sells butter in tubs to the wholesale trade. It makes up butter in pound prints for dealers under the dealers' own brands. It also sells pound packages under its own trade name, "Land O'Lakes," and guarantees that every pound of butter under this brand package will test ninety-three score or higher, and that it comes from tuberculin tested cows.

In its first full year of sales operation, the association marketed 32,000,000 pounds of butter. Last year it sold 79,000,000 pounds. This butter came from 425 creameries in Minnesota, 19 in Wisconsin, and 1 in North Dakota. It represented the production of about 60,000 farmers. Including supply-buying, the total business done amounted to nearly \$39,000,000. This huge business was done at an average cost of 2.37 cents per pound of butter, which included freight and handling charges to distant markets. All butter is handled on a pooling contract. The pools close each month, and each creamery receives the same price as every other creamery during that month for its butter of equal grade after allowance has been made for freight differentials.

Recently the association celebrated its fifth birthday by opening a magnificent terminal warehouse in Minneapolis, and 3,000 enthusiastic delegates were in attendance.



A FEDERAL INSPECTOR TESTS EVERY CHURNING

(This is a tub-butter room in the coöperative assembling-plant of Minnesota and Wisconsin farmers)

At this meeting the Minnesota Coöperative Creameries Association changed its name to the "Land O'Lakes Creameries, Inc." a step toward obliterating State lines in coöperative organization. The annual prize for the best average quality of butter produced during the year was awarded to District No. 1, which happens to be in Wisconsin. Quality improvement was noted in every district. In the past twelve months the amount of butter grading 93 score has increased from 32 to 62 per cent. of the entire association sales. This record of improvement surpasses anything the Danes have done. The success of the organization leads many to think that the next twelve months will see many more Wisconsin creameries become members of the Land O'Lakes Association.

Good Prices for Good Eggs

Marketing farm-yard eggs coöperatively is a difficult undertaking, but 22,000 Northwestern farmers have done it to their own satisfaction. They are banded into sixteen district locals headed by the Minnesota Coöperative Egg and Poultry Exchange. This exchange came into existence as a result of the efforts of A. J. McPheeters, formerly country agent of Rice County and now manager of the organization. Mr. McPheeters and his farmer friends believed that the old system of handling eggs and

poultry, whereby the farmer would take his eggs to the country grocery and exchange them for merchandise, or would sell his produce to the private poultry dealer, was wasteful and antiquated, and that the price returns to farmers were considerably less than they could otherwise obtain. In July of 1924 the exchange began its operations, on less than \$500 capital. It established modest headquarters in an old warehouse building in St. Paul, and it utilized in some instances coöperative creameries as egg and poultry collecting stations, and in other instances special plants which were acquired at the expense of the local memberships.

Each association operates its collection service and eggs are collected twice a week. Every egg is carefully graded and every fowl brought into the dressing plants is carefully inspected. Some are killed and some are shipped alive. The exchange operates a pool on a two-week period, and every producer is paid the same as every other producer, according to quality and grade and the usual freight rate differentials.

Under the old system, hucksters estimated a 10 per cent. loss in eggs on account of deterioration, and took that amount out of the price they paid. Under the coöperative system each farmer is penalized for exactly the number of eggs which may be thrown out at the time of candling; but in the Association territory the basic price level to the farmer has been raised about $5\frac{1}{2}$ cents a dozen, while in unorganized communities the old system and the old evils prevail.

When the exchange started, less than 45 per cent. of the Minnesota eggs graded as extras. Six months later, 60 per cent. of the exchange eggs graded as extras, 30 per cent. as firsts, and only 10 per cent. were undergrades. Last year the average deduction from gross sales made by the exchange in settling with local associations was 4 cents per dozen of eggs, of which approximately 3 cents was for freight, and 1 cent for selling and administration costs. The total turnover of the exchange in 1925 was approximately \$2,750,000.

This exchange also has over-stepped State lines. A few months ago a large poultry dressing plant was established at LaCrosse, Wis. This plant alone did a business of about a quarter-million dollars during the year. All eggs are sold under exchange brands, and there is a growing demand in the large centers like Chicago and New York for the "Lake Region" products.

The success of the exchange has moved producers in twelve States to send delegations to the Twin Cities to study its work, and organization projects are under way in some of those stations.

These individual stories summarize the achievements of representative coöperatives in the Northwest, whose membership aggregates over 200,000 farm families. Not one of these organizations is confined to State lines, and each is quietly expanding in volume of business and in service.

Thus we see that the Northwestern farmers have gone forward along the road of self-help. What they have achieved will entrench them to copewith future contingencies.



THE STAFF OF A LOCAL COÖPERATIVE POULTRY AND EGG ASSOCIATION, IN MINNESOTA

THE DOWNTURN IN THE STOCK MARKET

BY LEONARD P. AYRES

(Vice-President, The Cleveland Trust Company)

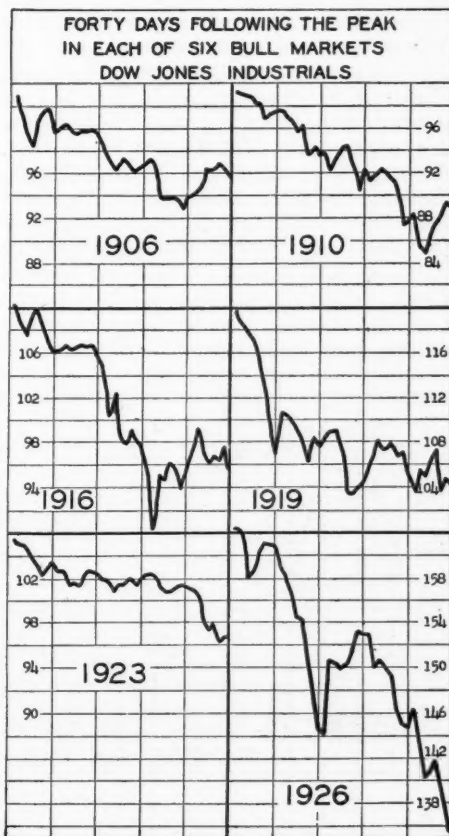
THE great bull market for stocks, which had been running since the autumn of 1923, reached its peak in the middle of February, and prices melted away for two weeks with unprecedented rapidity. In eight trading days of the decline the loss in the open market value of stocks was greater than the entire cost to the Federal Government of conducting the Civil War. Then, on March 4, there came a general recovery that added more in one day to the open market value of stocks than the cost of all the other wars that this nation has ever waged up to 1917.

In all the previous history of the stock market, and even including the records of the panic years, there had never been so abrupt and general a decline of security prices in so brief a time.

However, what had happened was only an introduction to what was coming. In the second week of March, just a month after the first collapse began, another drop started that carried prices down before the 1st of April so far and so fast that the total losses in market quotations during the second decline were greater than those of the first one.

During 1925 and the early weeks of 1926, the advance in the prices of securities traded in on the stock market was greater than any that had been previously recorded. The bull market that has just terminated broke all records. The volume of trading was greater than ever before. Prices were lifted to levels never before reached. Profits made by fortunate speculators were beyond previous precedent. When the downturn came the drop in values was also record-breaking. In six weeks following the middle of February the decline in quoted prices cancelled all the advance that had been recorded in the last eight months of the marking up of values in the greatest of all bull markets.

Some idea of the drastic character of the recent decline may be gained from the accompanying diagram. The six lines show the course followed after the peaks of six bull markets by the average prices of the industrial stocks included in the Dow-Jones averages compiled by the *Wall Street Journal*. In each case the line shows the changes in these average prices for forty trading days following the peak of the market. The diagram shows clearly enough



that the declines and the recoveries of these recent days have been more rapid and wider in scope than the earlier corresponding movements immediately following the high points of other markets.

In the January number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS there was published an article by the present writer on "The Great Bull Market of 1925." In that article, which was written in the early days of last December, several forecasts or predictions were ventured. Two of them merit review at this time. One was the prediction that the rediscount rate of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York would be advanced early in January, and that stock prices would then reach their top and turn down.

The first part of the prediction was accurately fulfilled by the subsequent event, for the rediscount rate was advanced on January 7. With regard to the second part the record is fairly clear but not perfectly so. The railroad stocks as a group reached their highest levels on the very day that the bank rate was advanced, and have been declining with only minor rallies ever since. Most of the well recognized averages that are used to record the price movements of industrial stocks reached their highest levels during the second week of February, but many stocks turned down before that. Accompanying the article was a diagram showing the price movements of twenty-five high-grade industrial stocks, and their average turning point came on January 14.

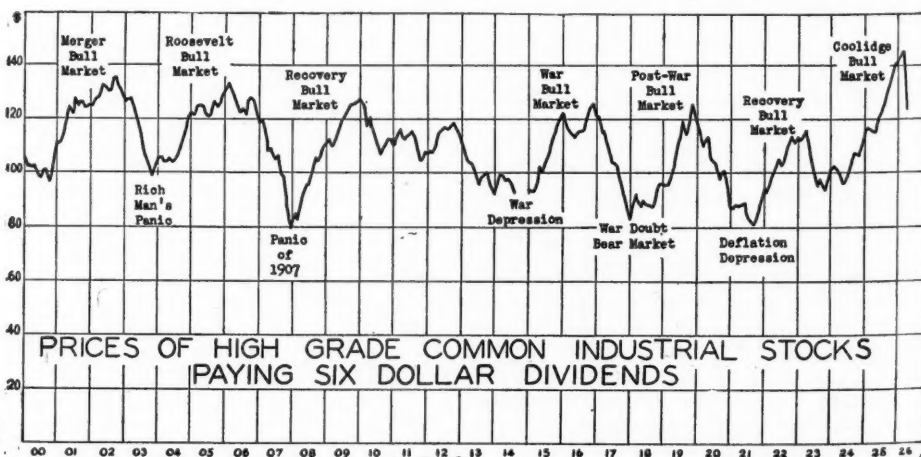
It may well be asked why it was reasonable to predict some five weeks in advance that the downturn in stock prices would follow upon the raising of the rediscount

rate. This brings us to the second of the two predictions that have been referred to, which was that this bull market would ultimately terminate for reasons that were psychological rather than economic or financial.

The events in the market during February verified this forecast. At the time the earlier article was written prices had been advancing for more than two years. Transactions were enormous, public participation was on a grand scale, and enthusiasm was unbounded. Stock prices had been advanced in many cases without regard to intrinsic investment values or reasonable prospects of future profits. Men were buying stocks, as they had been recently buying Florida real estate, not because there was real reasons to believe that the prices represented genuine worth, but solely to sell to someone else at still higher prices.

It was clear at that time that the exceptional activity of industry, trade, and transportation warranted an advance in the bank rate, and it also seemed nearly certain that the change would not be made until the exceptionally large financial operations that always come at the end of the year were out of the way. This reasoning was the basis for predicting that the rediscount rate would be advanced early in January.

It seemed at that time almost equally certain that the speculative community would interpret the advance in the bank rate as an official warning that the central banking authorities would not indefinitely acquiesce in the unlimited use of bank credit for speculative purposes. It seemed sure that if this happened not much time



would elapse before there would run across the minds of the speculators a wave of fear that perhaps it might not be possible to find purchasers for stocks acquired at prices far above those warranted by their yields, their earnings, or their reasonable prospects.

That was, indeed, what happened. Some groups of stocks began to decline in value as soon as the rediscount rate was advanced. Others held up for a while, and some even advanced. Then all of a sudden thousands of men who had large paper profits on their holdings decided to turn them into money, and the market broke with a crash.

There is reproduced at the bottom of page 530 a diagram which accompanied the article published four months ago, and which has now been extended to include the early months of 1926. It shows for each month over the past twenty-six years the changing average market price of some twenty-five of the highest grade common industrial stocks paying an average of \$6 each in dividends. The line has been extended to show the average price up to the 1st of April. It reflects the nearly vertical character of the recent drop, and shows how that decline cancelled in a few weeks all the gains made since the spring of last year.

It would be interesting and instructive to know why the sharp decline of February and March was divided into two distinct phases about equal in severity. It may well be that the true explanation is to be found in the fact that the public is now much better educated in the matters of real values and stock market movements than it was in previous bull markets, and much better than professional Wall Street has realized. The first decline started when large numbers of individual speculators decided to cash in on their paper profits. At the same time several pools attempted to distribute their holdings, and found that prices melted away so rapidly that their paper profits were turned into losses.

In a number of cases pools were forced to turn over their holdings to banking groups because they were no longer able to advance the funds necessary to carry their stock. In previous downturns of markets, pools have advanced the prices of their holdings by market manipulation all the way up to the highest levels of the movement, and then have been able to distribute on the way

down whatever amounts of stock they had left over when the top was reached. This was done by selling to individuals who mistook the final turning point for a mere temporary recession, and who expected the advance to be resumed. This time that procedure could not be followed successfully because the individual private speculators were selling and not buying.

The weak pools and the more wary individual speculators seem to have pretty well disposed of their holdings on the first break. Most of the buying was done by people who thought that the stocks at the reduced prices must be bargains, or by financially strong groups who took over large blocks of stocks of companies they were interested in so as to prevent the demoralization of the markets for these particular securities.

The second break seems to have been caused in large part by the selling of standard stocks by important houses that originate, underwrite, and issue new securities. These houses appear to have had in their possession large amounts of unseasoned securities which they were planning to sell to the public, and which suddenly became seriously burdensome when individual investors stopped buying and began to sell. In order to carry these inventories such houses were compelled to sell large amounts of standard issues. The result of all this was that market prices went down in two distinct sharp declines, that good stocks suffered with the poor ones, and that some securities are selling a hundred points lower than they were a few weeks ago, while many are down fifty points or more.

It seems reasonably safe to hazard three forecasts with regard to the bear market which got under way in February. The first is that it has so far run less than half the time that will be required to complete it. The second is that the decline of average prices so far probably represents somewhat more than half the total decline that will result from it. The third is that sometime in the course of this bear market there will probably come a sharp and sustained rally which will prove disastrous to many amateur speculators who are for the first time venturing to operate by selling short, and which will result in losses to other speculators who will mistake the rally for the beginning of a new bull market.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

Prohibition and Its Enforcement

THE Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act have been for months the leading topics of popular discussion in this country, and there is no sign of a diminution of interest in the debate. The straw vote taken by newspapers throughout the country a few weeks ago served to heighten public interest in the matter.

The Demand for Repeal

On April 5, President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, issued a statement, declaring that the prohibition issue would dominate the presidential election in 1928 and making the following demands:

Repeal the Volstead Prohibition Enforcement Act.
Repeal the Eighteenth Amendment and secure return to the Federal form of Government.
Adopt for the State of New York a system of liquor-control based on the Quebec "dispensary law."

President Butler holds that there can be no compromise, since the existence of the Eighteenth Amendment, quite apart from the subject with which it deals, challenges the very foundations of our constitutional system. "If it be permitted to remain in the Constitution, there to serve as an example and temptation to imitate it, in respect to other matters, it will destroy the Federal Republic and reduce the States to mere geographical names."

In the course of this debate it has frequently been said that the Eighteenth Amendment cannot be repealed. President Butler, on the other hand, asserts that nothing is easier.

All that is needed to secure its repeal is to press home to the intelligent people of the United States the fundamental principles that are involved. A man may be a sincere believer in total abstinence as the best policy, not only for himself but for others, and yet advocate the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment because of its political and moral unsoundness. The control of the liquor traffic is a

mere detail of public administration. The uprooting and overturning of our form of government is something infinitely more serious. The more the moral issue is pressed, the weaker the case for Prohibition becomes.

A Scientist's Advocacy

A wholly different attitude on the subject of Prohibition is maintained by Dr. David Starr Jordan, former president of Stanford University, in an article contributed to the *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston) for April 9.

This writer's statement is headed "Prohibition, a Defense of Personal Liberty," and he boldly challenges the assertion that the suppression of the liquor trade is "an attack on personal liberty."

It is a defense of personal liberty, against those oppressing the freedom of the rest of us. The saloon makes its neighborhood unfit for rearing boys. Under former conditions every saloon, every drunkard, and every man driving an automobile with liquor on his breath, was a menace to his neighbors.

The very fact that liquor victims and liquor apologists are now so active, and in some quarters so plausible, shows how deeply the destructive canker has eaten into America's national system.

Dr. Jordan's comments as a scientist on the evils of alcohol are of special interest:

It may be remembered that the evil of liquor is not centered in drunkenness, for that is mainly nature's effort to throw off poison. When nature has been imposed on too long, becoming hardened to it, she ceases to revolt. It is absurd to refer to the saturated populations of southern and eastern Europe as "temperate."

The ravages of the "assommoir" (murderer) in the form of drink, in France, have been most effectively shown by the greatest of modern realists, Zola. From the standpoint of mental health, saturation is worse than sprees. According to the statistics of Jean de Bloch, France, in the last century, led the world in fatalities from alcoholism, of which mere drunkenness is a preliminary phase.

As to purity of drugs: analysis has shown that few poisons (wood alcohol excepted) in liquor are more dangerous than ethyl alcohol itself, which is the chief constituent of all wines, beer, whisky,

brandy and other liquors. But it is certain that the American people would not for a moment consent that their National Government should go into the saloon business. For liquor is liquor everywhere, and everywhere it is disastrous to human well-being.

Alcohol, like opium, is a mind-destroying drug. If alcohol, says Dr. Cushny of Edinburgh, greatest of pharmacologists (in substance), were a newly discovered drug from some German laboratory, its sale would be everywhere prevented even as cocaine, a much more useful and less dangerous drug, is now excluded from general use.

Dr. Jordan is squarely opposed to the views expressed by President Butler as to the possibility of repealing the Eighteenth Amendment. He declares that "under no circumstances which we can imagine will it be repealed. The main purpose, that of breaking up the liquor traffic in America, will in time be achieved." He admits that changes in the Volstead law in certain directions may be possible. Its methods, he thinks, may be adjusted to hit more directly at the traffic with less attention to the individual.

As to the present situation, Dr. Jordan has this to say:

I know of no modification of the Volstead Act yet suggested that is not in the interest of the liquor trade. In most cases its plain purpose is somehow to work backward toward its restoration. No saloon (high-toned clubs and hotels excepted) has ever respected any limited statute.

The present condition is certainly not satisfactory to anyone, especially in large cities and among foreign populations. But in the nation at large the liquor situation is far better than before the war. I see vastly fewer drunken men. In those colleges and universities which try to avoid admitting idle or worthless students there is much less drinking than in 1908, the year in which dissipation reached its height in academic circles. The number who have taken to drink out of bravado is negligible, in two senses of the word. A great point has been gained when a legalized evil has been driven underground.

But when a ruinous traffic becomes nation-wide, only the nation can deal with it. The remedy, if remedy exists, must be found in prohibition. And to be effective this must be national, for individual states cannot fortify their boundaries. The old idea of states' rights is giving place to that of "state duties." A duty which no individual state is capable of performing alone must be passed up to the United States; and state nullification of national statutes has not met the approval of history.

Evils in Enforcement Methods

In the *Virginia Quarterly Review* Professor Hamilton, of the University of North Carolina, makes an attack not upon Prohibition but upon some of the methods of its enforcement. He says that he has seen an instance of State prohibition working admirably as an uplifting, economic and

social force, and playing a great part in the re-making of an old and stagnant commonwealth. Parenthetically, he states that he has also seen the destruction of the effectiveness of State Prohibition by National Prohibition. But he argues neither against the Eighteenth Amendment nor the Volstead Act. He recognizes them both as law "until in the Providence of God they are repealed." He says that he still believes in the principles of constitutional liberty developed by our forefathers, and he wonders whether, if Prohibition is worth while, it cannot be enforced "without a blockading fleet off our coast, an army of officials on land, and a saturnalia of lawlessness and violence in which our legislators, judges, executive officials, police officers and private citizens, are all implicated."

An Appeal for Fair Play

On April 11, Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, president of the Federal Council of Churches spoke on the subject of National Prohibition in an address which was widely circulated by radio. He treated Prohibition as a characteristically American measure, native to our soil, and by no means foisted upon the people. Believing that some of his hearers might feel that some measure not so radical as Prohibition could take its place as a control of liquor, Dr. Cadman answered that such measures have been tried elsewhere and in part here, and have failed.

Taxation, police supervision, State regulations or the governmentally controlled systems of some of the Canadian provinces have alike proved ineffective. Finland, after experimenting with other plans, has followed the example of the United States and adopted prohibition. Rapid strides toward restriction are being made in Germany. France, Portugal and Spain have remonstrated with Scandinavia because of the diminution in their wine trade there. The powerful distillery and brewery interests of Great Britain are alarmed by the news that prohibition is deeply rooted in America. They understand what our steadfastness signifies.

Dr. Cadman also asked a longer trial for Prohibition. He declares that no sooner was Prohibition established than its enemies began to encompass its destruction. "After enduring drink for many centuries, nearly always with ignominious results, can we not endure Prohibition even for a decade? I ask for a rigid enforcement of the law, and that by an equitable and rational public opinion which will not be diverted from this magnificent experiment till it has had a fair opportunity. Give sobriety at least an equal chance with drunkenness."

Our Industrial Progress

IN THE May number of the *Century* Mr. Charles Edward Russell writes about the new industrial era, which in his view is largely the outcome of "Getting Rid of Making Things We Don't Need." Mr. Russell points out that the situation which obtained for fifty years, between our Civil War and the Great War, in which manufactured products of the United States were largely excluded from the world's market because of the high American cost of production, has now been superseded by a wholly new set of conditions. Whereas formerly other countries could sell their goods for so much less that we were out of the running;

The new order in manufacturing is changing all that. Without lowering the American wage-levels, it is overcoming the handicaps they imposed. Having now increased efficiency, decreased waste, and increased wisdom, there are many things of foreign demand we can manufacture on a high wage-level for less than the foreigner can manufacture them on a low wage-level.

Mr. Ford with his six-dollar-a-day workmen can outsell foreign automobile makers with their two-dollar-a-day workmen. Everybody knows that. Mr. Ford's supremacy was attained by organization, simplification, standardization. What these did for automobile making they are now to do for the making of other things. Economy does more than promise these results, it is already achieving them;

and not in assertions but in the recorded statistics. The manufactured exports of the United States go up and up. To-day this is the only nation in the world that has increased its foreign commerce above pre-war levels. We are 25 per cent. ahead of the best we did before the war; Great Britain is 10 per cent. worse.

Mr. Russell further shows that while the purchasing power of the American wage worker has relatively increased, that of the British wage worker has relatively declined. The U. S. Department of Commerce ascribes this in part to the elimination of waste, partly to improved methods, and partly to Prohibition. Some goods can be produced here more cheaply than anywhere else. Thus American electric goods are displacing in Switzerland the products of German factories less than a hundred miles away.

Another result of great importance from the expansion of American foreign trade will be the restoration of the American merchant marine. At the present moment a larger proportion of America's foreign trade is carried in American bottoms than at any time since the beginning of the Civil War. We can build ships cheaply in spite of our high wages because of our methods of standardization, simplification and organization.

"Coddling" Criminals

ONE phase of the crime situation, namely, the tendency to make prison life more agreeable for the culprit, is trenchantly discussed by Judge Charles C. Nott, Jr., of the New York City Court of General Sessions, in *Scribner's* for May. Judge Nott holds that a large and well-meaning group of prison reformers in the State of New York have ignored the fundamental difference between reformation of the criminal and punishment as a deterrent to crime. The result has naturally been to diminish the force and effect of punishment as a deterrent, and in Judge Nott's opinion the increase in the amount of reformation effected, over that obtained by the old system, has been negligible. The so-called "coddling" system in New York State prisons has been in force for about twelve years, and it would seem that the

proportion of second offenders serving prison terms now would be substantially less than it was fifteen years ago. On the contrary, it seems to have been increased. In 1915, 39 per cent. of the State prisons' inmates had been previously convicted of felony. In 1924 it was 44 per cent.

A prison, in Judge Nott's opinion, is necessarily a most unfavorable place to effect a reformation of the individual. When the prison management attempts solely to rehabilitate the individual the efficacy of punishment as a deterrent is seriously lessened. Young first offenders, appearing before Judge Nott for sentence, frequently plea to be sent to Sing Sing and not to the Elmira Reformatory. They prefer the "soft snap" at Sing Sing to the military discipline of the Reformatory. Furthermore, the terms of imprisonment are un-

reasonably cut down by "commutation for good conduct" and by "compensation for efficient and willing service," and, in addition, by paroles from the Parole Board.

Judge Nott's conception of the utility of the prison sentence is set forth in the following paragraphs:

No one now believes that prisoners should be treated with cruelty or brutality, nor that they should be kept in unsanitary surroundings which might undermine their health—such as the notorious old cell block at Sing Sing. But if the State confines its prisoners in sanitary prisons, segregates the first offenders from the "second-timers," affords opportunity for education and self-improvement, teaches a useful trade and helps discharged convicts to obtain employment, it has discharged its duties

to them, and not only is under no obligation to make their term of imprisonment easy and agreeable, but should carefully refrain from doing so, substituting a strict and firm discipline for the recreational methods now in vogue. Obtaining work for convicts upon discharge is one of the most beneficent means of promoting their welfare and preventing a relapse into crime, and if the time, labor, and money expended by the sentimentalists had been concentrated upon that effort, they might have accomplished good instead of harm.

The English administration of the criminal law before conviction is frequently contrasted favorably with our own, and we might well consider if their system of administering their prisons without cruelty but with an unvarying and inexorable discipline, starting out with a short period of solitary confinement, is not the common-sense method of making crime unpopular.

English Public Schools To-day

THE English Public Schools, by which are meant the comparatively small group of boys' boarding schools which correspond somewhat to our Andover, Exeter, Hill, St. Paul's, and the rest, have for generations played an important part in the life of the English nation. As a writer, Mr. Stephen H. Foot, in the April *Nineteenth Century* (London) points out, about 95 per cent. of the English parents who can afford it hand over their sons completely to these schools for training. The completeness of the parental surrender is hard to realize here in America, where the school is not expected to, nor does it, assume responsibility for the development of character as well as mind.

Mr. Foot points out that the welfare of these schools is of great importance to the nation, since a large proportion of the nation's leaders in times past and at present have been trained in the Public Schools.

During the past twenty-five years, says Mr. Foot, there has been a tremendous increase in the number wanting Public School education for their boys. The "new poor" still scrape every penny to send their sons, and the "new rich" are not less eager. As a result the number of schools has greatly increased, and the number of boys in the old schools has in many cases almost doubled.

Mr. Foot names thirty-one schools, among them the names famous in literature, —Rugby, Eton, Winchester, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Harrow, and others—all of them at least thirty years old, with an

established position in scholarship and athletics, whose boys are largely boarders. Where twenty years ago Eton alone had 900 boys or more, at least nine of them now have. The reasons that the schools have allowed themselves to expand are threefold—commercial, the pressure of parents, many of them graduates themselves, and the rivalry between headmasters, who often mistakenly consider that numbers mean success.

In Mr. Foot's opinion, upheld by such authority as Thring, famous English schoolmaster, this tendency to enlarge is wholly bad. In a school exceeding 400 boys perfect efficiency is impossible. With the increase in numbers, among other consequences, is the growth of the "House System," where professors board thirty or forty boys on a purely speculative basis, with too often the unfortunate result that in order to make any profit, often only to make both ends meet, the boys are not given proper food and care.

A large part of Mr. Foot's article is given over to a consideration of Public School training as a preparation for professional or business life. Mr. Foot is himself what he describes as a "business man turned schoolmaster." It is his belief that there is no better preparation for professional or business life than the classical education given to these boys. It is far better to train the boys to think, to reason logically, in initiative and judgment, than to offer them the training for clerkship which they can learn in a few months in an office.

The Public School graduate is not intended for a life-long clerkship; he is prepared to hurdle rapidly over the lower steps in business and to attain managerial positions.

The solution of a difficult problem in algebra or geometry, with the necessary arrangement of logical steps in orderly sequence, requires from him exactly the same reasoning power which he will use when he prepares for the board of directors a memorandum advocating some important new line of policy for his firm. That is why schoolmasters cling instinctively to the same old subjects, and they are right to do so.

There is an increasing demand, that exceeds the supply, in fact, from business firms for Public School graduates. These

firms find that it pays to take these boys on at a good salary even while they are learning the business. The reasons they give are that the boys as a rule have trained minds, they are able to get on with superiors and inferiors alike, and they are trained above all in loyalty and trustworthiness.

So long as the schools cling to the old curricula, which include the pleasant and the unpleasant, which have a hard and fast time-schedule, they are not bad preparation for office routine, and for the more vital parts of the business, the training is, in Mr. Foot's opinion, unmatchable.

The Learned Profession of Motherhood Acquires Academic Honors

EUTHENICS, the technical name for one of the oldest concerns of humanity, has a particular place in the curriculum of women's colleges since it may popularly be defined as the science of homemaking, of rearing children, and of bettering the community.

Several women's colleges have courses more or less directly connected with the subject of euthenics, and in some, practice homes are run, and babies obtained from neighboring Homes or clinics are cared for. The most complete course will perhaps be the new department at Vassar College, where the new Euthenics Department is to be housed in a \$500,000 Euthenics laboratory, the gift of an alumna, Mrs. John W. Blodgett, with a staff of teachers admirably equipped to carry on the many different phases of the work.

The *March Forecast* (New York), a magazine devoted to considerations of problems of euthenics, foods, books for the homemaker, and kindred subjects, reports the Vassar progress at some length. The subject is to be treated, reports Miss Grace Turner, under five closely allied heads: (1) family relations; (2) child psychology; (3) home economics; (4) nutrition; and (5) recreation for the family.

The department starts work this summer with a special school for college graduates. Young married women are particularly invited, and the studies are so designed as to be of instant practical assistance. In

the winter, the regular work will consist of application of the sciences already taught to the problems of euthenics. Botany, physical geography, chemistry, economics, political science, human physiology, hygiene and sanitation, including principles of public health, eugenics, prenatal care, infant care and feeding (with babies borrowed from the town clinics to practice on), nutrition, and child psychology with special relation to the different methods of child training, will all be part of this work.

In the laboratory, practical opportunities to study home-making and beautifying, extended work with nutrition, for adults and infants, care of children of the pre-school age, and much statistical work will be carried on.

The student, it is hoped, will learn from this the science of being a mother to young babies, and of making an attractive and efficient home. Also she will learn the relation of every intelligent woman to the social problems of her community. Instead of graduating an exponent of "science for its own sake" she will have learned a "science for our sake" as well, promises Miss Turner. Our next generation of college women will not only be taught the necessity for but the means of applying beauty to environment and living. What effect this will have on the coming generation, on divorce laws, and on the problem of homemaking-wage-earners is a matter for interesting conjecture.

Italian Art Visits America

PERHAPS the outstanding artistic event of the recent past is recorded in the *Independent* (Boston) for April 3. Under the patronage of His Majesty, King Victor Emmanuel III and of Premier Mussolini, the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction has presented an exhibition of modern Italian art to the American public, which is to make the rounds of the country. The exhibit includes twenty-nine pieces of sculpture and 107 paintings, representing the nation's greatest artistic achievement during the past sixty years. Says the *Independent*:

In selecting from the work of contemporary Italian artists the aim has been to offer a balanced and comprehensive picture of current artistic activity. . . . The recovery of Italy from the World War has been marked by a new renaissance which has thrown into sharp relief certain characteristic tendencies. . . . The formal glory of past ages is made a source of new inspiration. . . .

Thomas W. Lamont, president of the



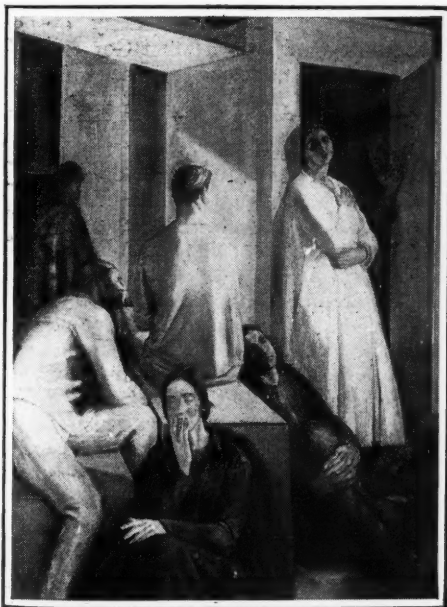
"SENSATION OF
'SPRING'"
BY GIACOMO BALLA

Italy-America Society which has had much to do with the arrangements for the exhibit in America, says of it as follows:

In art Italy carries not only the glory but the weight of a past so extraordinary that we are easily led to disregard the achievements of the present day. The exhibition of works chosen under the personal supervision of one of Europe's foremost art critics, Arduino Colasanti, Director of the Department of Fine Arts, tells us that united Italy is second to no great nation in number of artists, and in sincerity of artistic expression.

The exhibition which has already appeared at the Grand Central Palace in New York will move on to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the National Gallery at Washington, the Chicago Art Institute, and the California Palace of the Legion of Honour in San Francisco.

Italian art has made no official appearance in America since the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco in 1915, making the coming of this exhibit most noteworthy.



"THE TRAGIC JOURNEY"
BY FERRUCCIO FERRAZZI



"THE BRETON GIRL"
BY UBALDO OPI

Arctic Crusaders

THE once secure privacy of the North Pole is seriously threatened. Explorers of five nations, in airplanes, dirigibles, sleds and ships, are setting out this summer with all the apparent zeal of crusaders for the more inaccessible, if less holy, goal, and will try by the superior strength of scientific equipment to conquer the forces which have so long guarded the spot against the faithful.

Within the past month, three of these have started on their perilous way. Spurred on by scientific curiosity, by patriotic and even vague commercial hopes, these adventurers are seeking to claim the "inaccessible pole" for their country, to find the lost continent said by many scientists to exist near the pole, and to otherwise serve science and possibly humanity.

The first to start was Capt. George Wilkins, Australian explorer, and member of several prominent Arctic expeditions in the past. The *Independent* (Boston) for March 13 gives an extensive account of his plans; his progress has been reported almost daily in the press since his departure on March 26, and has also received comment in the leading weeklies. The expedition is financed by the Detroit Aviation Society, the American Geographical Society, the American Newspaper Alliance, and by Captain Wilkins himself. Two Fokker monoplanes were sent to Fairbanks, Alaska, and assembled there. Specially designed motor sleds which were to transport supplies from Fairbanks to Point Barrow, Alaska, whence the hop over the top of the world to Spitzbergen is to be made, proved unsuccessful, and it is now Captain Wilkin's plan to ferry the supplies and fuel necessary for the final hop to the pole by plane from Fairbanks to the advance base. This is a perilous undertaking, necessitating a long journey over a mountain range unfit for a forced landing. Owing, says the *Nation*, to the fact that the otherwise experienced fliers in charge of the two planes had never flown monoplanes before and were unused to the "feel," of landing, both planes were injured on the trial flight, but have been recommissioned, and Captain Wilkins has already made three successful trips to Point Barrow, and one foray into unexplored areas, establishing a new "farthest north" in that region.

The Byrd Expedition

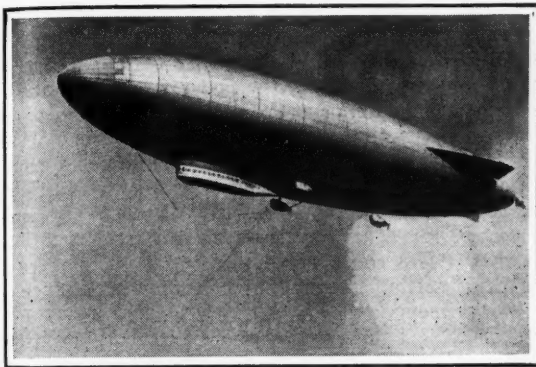
The second expedition to leave for the pole is attempting the flight from the other side of the world. Commander Richard E. Byrd, retired, of the United States Navy, with many aids and a well-tried Fokker monoplane in the hold, left New York for Spitzbergen on April 6th in the *Chantier*. Edsel Ford, Vincent Astor, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Dwight Morrow and others are backing the expedition. While not an official government venture, the starting was accompanied, by fervid demonstration, official and non-official. Byrd plans to sail to King's Bay, Spitzbergen, to then fly to a point in Peary Land, 400 miles from the pole, which will be his advance post. He, too, plans to ferry the needed supplies for the trip from the base at King's Bay.

"Rome to Nome"

The Amundsen-Ellsworth-Nobile expedition is also under way. After his airplane attempt to reach the pole last year, and his miraculous escape, Amundsen returned convinced that the proper equipment for attacking the pole was a semi-rigid dirigible, and immediately opened negotiations with the Italian Government. The dirigible, about one half the size of the ill-fated *Shenandoah*, has been named the *Norge* and flies under the Norwegian flag, although financed in part by the Italian Government. Lieutenant Nobile, commander and designer of the *Norge*, left Rome on April 10 on the first leg of the long flight which is to conclude at Point Barrow, by way of Pulham, Oslo, Leningrad, Vardo, King's Bay, and the pole. The flight accomplished so far more than doubles the final hop from King's Bay across the pole. The chief advantage of the dirigible over the airplane is its greater cruising range without a stop for refueling: This feature, according to the *Nation*, makes this expedition by far the most sure of success. In the April *Forum*, Fridtjof Nansen also declares his belief that the dirigible is the proper vehicle for polar transportation.

Seven Other Expeditions Planned

Concerning other ventures, there has been much publicity, and also much scepticism. Com. Leigh Wade, round-the-



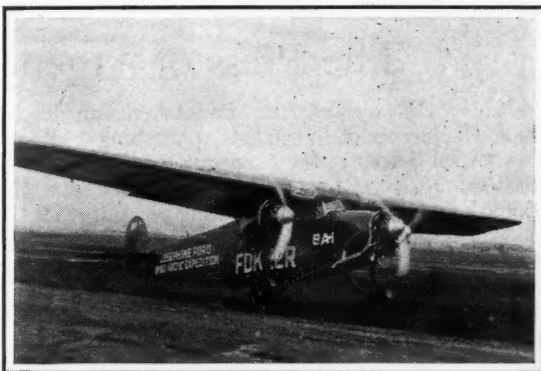
THE ITALIAN DIRIGIBLE "NORGE"

(Built for the Amundsen-Ellsworth-Nobile Polar Expedition at Campino Aerodrome, Rome. Under the command of Umberto Nobile, its designer, it is to fly from Rome across the pole)

world flier has perhaps unfortunately published news of an expedition to be organized by him with the support of a number of American University alumni groups, although the Douglas planes which are to be built for the expedition, are not begun.

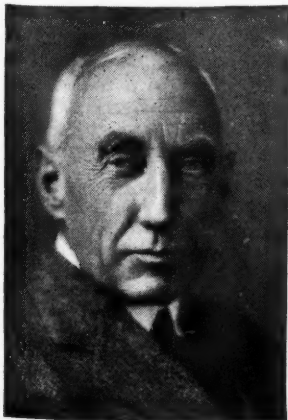
The French Navy Department is conducting an expedition composed of motor-sleds and hydro-planes, to leave this summer. The sleds are the design of Captain Otto Sverdrup, commander of Nansen's ship the *Fram*.

Capt. Donald B. Macmillan who made airplane explorations in the Arctic last year, plans a return early this summer.



CAPTAIN BYRD'S POWERFUL FOKKER MONOPLANE

(The plane is named after the three-year-old daughter of Edsel Ford, a backer of the expedition. Equipped with three Wright 200 horse-power air-cooled motors, its estimated flying radius is 1400 miles, considerably more than the distance of the hop across the pole)



THREE COMMANDERS OF THIS SUMMER'S POLAR FLIGHTS

(Associated with Raoul Amundsen, left, noted Arctic explorer, are Lincoln Ellsworth who went with him last year, and Umberto Nobile. Captain George H. Wilkins, center, is already at Point Barrow. Commander Richard E. Byrd, right, will reach Spitzbergen about May 1)

library offers special facilities to professional and army men, while an assembly room is offered for group meetings and concerts.

The 1,600,000 inhabitants of Buenos Aires read papers in half a dozen languages besides the fourteen morning and twenty-one afternoon dailies printed in Spanish. Three of the local foreign language papers are in Italian, one is in French, and there are two in each of the following tongues: English, German, Turkish and Russian.

In addition to the forty-seven daily papers, Buenos Aires presses issue 300 weekly, fortnightly and monthly prints.

We have seen that at least two of the dailies published in Buenos Aires are worthy to be placed in the first rank among the world's great newspapers. If we may accept the statements of the *South Pacific*

Mail (Valparaiso) which are quoted in the *Bulletin*, the press of Chile does not suffer by comparison with that of its neighbor country. The writer of this article states that in many years' experience he can recall no failure to record the leading events of the world. In the matter of world news, Chile is like a well-equipped radio-receiving station. She enjoys a positive advantage in the fact that she has a relatively small population. "The foreign cables are not crowded out by the doings of a hundred million citizens actively engaged in the manufacture of local news." In the columns of the Chilean newspapers equal attention is given to happenings in Tokio, New York, Paris, London, and Buenos Aires. The leading Chilean newspapers are *El Mercurio* and *La Unión*.

England's Coal Question

THE recent report of the British coal commission continues to be one of the chief topics of discussion in the English reviews. In the *Contemporary* Mr. Charles F. G. Masterman, who has himself made a study of the subject, strongly commends the work of the commission in bringing to the surface important facts relating to the coal industry, but thinks that the recommendations for reform are not adequate. The situation which Great Britain is now facing in the coal industry is summarized by Mr. Masterman in the following terms:

The subsidy is to be suddenly snapped off. Over 70 per cent. of the coal raised can only be raised in most cases, even without profit to the shareholders, by use of a subsidy, and therefore, with its disappearance, the majority of mines must inevitably close. These losses might be diminished or even eliminated if the cost of production was reduced by the miners working an eight-hours' instead of a seven-hours' day, or such temporary but enormous reduction in wages as would be equivalent to the amount now given by the taxpayer to the coal industry. But the Commission rejects, and with unanswerable argument, the return to the eight-hours' day, which would merely mean similar lowering of the standard of life among all our coal trade competitors, without giving us any advantages, and provide cheap coal to make, say, German steel more able to compete with our steel in the markets of the world. It advocates a reduction in the wages of the more highly paid miners, while maintaining the minimum of a "living wage" as established by the Minimum Wage Act of 1911. But even if this reduction in wages was sadly or gladly accepted, as it is not in the least likely to be, by the Miners' Federation, the total money saved by the cuts proposed

would not be equal to any subsidy equivalent to that at present given as just sufficient to keep the mines alive with no profit to their owners. And for the filling of this gap, no positive suggestion emerges at all.

Outward events, more especially the return to the gold standard, welcome to the bankers but ruinous to the industrial, have knocked the bottom out of the coal market. It seems to be quite evident that the subsidy will have to be continued for a time, either in the form of a grant or loan. The cutting down of the wages in real value even below those of 1913 will have to be abandoned. With the miners reading the reports of the enormous luxury expenditure, the vast accumulated fortunes bequeathed at death, the gigantic dividends paid by British companies outside the dismal regions in which they dwell, such an attempt will come near to exciting a revolution. Thirdly, accompanying this grant and this refusal to cut down wages, and indeed as a condition of them, bills should be immediately introduced to implement and accelerate the recommendations of permanent change which may, in time, and through man's triumphant refusal to accept defeat, in historic words, "give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, and guide our feet into the way of peace."

The commission has, indeed, set forth facts and considerations which point to a steady improvement in the British coal industry in future years. Mr. Masterman is impressed by the revelations made by the geologists within the last thirty years, of a wealth of coal deposit in England where no one ever thought that coal deposits existed.

I am not referring to the Kent coalfields, whose richness has not been entirely proved. But in South Yorkshire, Nottingham and Lincolnshire, at

very considerable depth, partly in mines now paying despite the slump, and partly in borings, investigators have discovered rich coal concentrated in such thick seams as to exceed all the wealth of the Johannesburg conglomerate. And they have as yet found no limit to this natural gift to British capital value, which may extend eastward even under the North Sea. Private companies are racing to develop these regions. Sherwood Forest, for example, the home of Robin Hood, is being penetrated by shafts and irrigated by model villages. Great mines employing three thousand or more workers are raising coal at so cheap a price that they not only "dump" this coal to the destruction of the older mines in Lancashire and elsewhere, but they also make a profit entirely independent of the subsidy at all and could live without the subsidy to-morrow. It is evident that if you could exploit this field immediately, creating a coal mine and a colliery village as rapidly as cotton factories were built during the cotton boom in Lancashire, and then by the hand of a dictator ensure a vast migration, irrespective of local ties and loyalties, into these districts from such tormented regions as those of South Wales, your coal problem could be solved.

An article by Mr. David Brownlie in the *Fortnightly Review* (London) approaches the coal question from the standpoint of the chemist and mining engineer. He flatly affirms that England cannot hold her own if she goes on in the old careless and unscientific way in the handling of her coal resources.

In the first place, most of the larger nations are now manufacturing a much greater proportion of their own products, and the idea that Great Britain can

be "the workshop of the world" is to-day simply absurd. Certainly the demand for goods continues to increase, but the percentage of the total supplied by Great Britain is bound to become less and less, although perhaps the aggregate value may not decline to a great extent if we adopt scientific methods. As far as the mining industries are concerned, it is very certain, however, the export coal trade cannot continue on present lines, and to be on the safe side we should lay our plans on the assumption that it will be lost altogether.

Roughly speaking, taking averages for a number of years, Great Britain raises 250,000,000 tons of coal per annum and uses 187,500,000 tons at home (75 per cent.), whilst 62,500,000 tons are exported. Of this latter approximately 47,000,000 tons (including coke and briquettes) are sold to the Colonies and foreign countries, 13,750,000 tons to ocean-going steamers, and 1,750,000 tons to coasting steamers.

Mr. Brownlie insists upon the scientific treatment of raw coal to give smokeless, free-burning fuel, motor spirit, lubricating oil, Diesel engine oil, and sulphate of ammonia (fixed nitrogen) for the cultivation of the soil. Mr. Brownlie has found that for every 100 tons of coal burnt in steam boilers, only 58 tons are actually utilized to provide useful steam. If scientific methods were adopted in running steam boilers, there should be about 75 per cent. efficiency for average conditions. Thus it appears that Great Britain is wasting 20,000,000 tons of coal every year on its steam-boiler plants out of the total of 90,000,000 tons consumed.

A French Objection to Austro-German Union

IT IS the custom of several of France's leading periodicals to publish each month a thorough and scholarly investigation of some current question. In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris) for March 15, a discussion of the movement and a history of the forces acting for and against the union of Austria with Germany is given with clarity, and at great length.

At the conclusion of the World War, so says the historian of the *Revue*, when Germany realized that she had to renounce certain territories, she immediately planned to replace the loss by annexing Austria. No less, Austria, seeing her kingdom fall to pieces about her, thought to become a part of the German Empire. These mutual tendencies were already apparent, and were dealt with negatively at Versailles, although this by no means closed the matter. There

are many solutions reached in that document which may not stand forever.

Before the World War the Pan-Germans were already agitating to bring about Austro-German union, known as the *Anschluss*; but the complex composition of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Bismarckian tradition which excluded Austria from the Prussian Empire, acted against their plans. The day after the Armistice, however, all was changed. German Austria, stripped of its Slavic members, turned to Germany for the strength it so badly needed. The National Assembly, called on the 12th of November, incorporated the desire that "German Austria form an integral part of the German Empire" into the new Austrian Constitution. In Germany action was almost as immediate. In the Constitution of Weimar creating the

German Republic, article 2 stated that "the territory of the Empire comprehends all German countries. Other countries may join it if their populations express the desire, in accordance with the right of peoples to dispose of themselves." And article 61 says more specifically: "After union with Germany, Austria shall have a place in the Reichsrath . . ."

But *Anschluss* was not to be brought about simply by the voicing of the desires of the two peoples, no matter what their right to dispose of themselves. Although the desires expressed in the two constitutions were soon ratified by public vote, the Allies demanded the retraction of the articles on the ground that they were a violation of the treaty of Versailles, and it was agreed that no federation would be contemplated or undertaken without the consent of the Council of the League of Nations.

Thus in September, 1919, the one opening for the *Anschluss* was through the Council of the League of Nations. But this was sufficiently large to encourage the vigorous campaigning for the *Anschluss* which has since been instigated by the two countries.

In October, 1920, a resolution in the Parliament at Vienna asked that the government consult the wish of the people in the matter. The Allies with one diplomatic voice vetoed the resolution, which was acted on two years later, however, in the Tyrol and around Salzburg, where the referendum was favorable to Germany. Allied interference again served to prevent further action.

In Germany active propaganda for the union, led by no less a person than President Löbe of the Reichstag through the organization whose title may perhaps be translated "The Union of German and Austrian Peoples," led to congresses, affirmed unofficial affiliations, laid down programs of action, above all, played on public opinion. The most strident and daring manifestation occurred in May, 1925. Aside from these popular demonstrations, Mr. Stresemann, Minister of Foreign Affairs, has said that the desire of the German people and government is economic union with Austria. Mr. Neuhaus, Minister of Commerce, has declared that it would be desirable to establish a customs union preparatory to political union. Marshal von Hindenburg has called the *Anschluss* "the realization of Germany's greatest hope."

It is the opinion of the *Revue* that the Allies, having accomplished the difficult task of financial reconstruction of Austria, at financial sacrifice to themselves, under the agreement subscribed to by Austria in October of 1922—that Austria would not give up her independence, nor by negotiation or economic bond compromise her independence—have a right of unusual value to oppose the union. Austria, certainly not Germany, has not regarded this international obligation to the detriment of her national honor and political standing.

The strongest argument of the Pan-Germanists is that ninety out of every hundred in Austria wish the union. This is based entirely upon guesswork, says the *Revue*. In fact, it is the *Revue's* belief that the opposition includes the elements of high finance and big industry, the bureaucracy, and the intelligentsia who are for the large part pacifists.

The arguments put forward for the federation are seen to be all false by the Allies—except one: that Germany will profit greatly. For example, the fact that this new Germany will differ from the Imperial Germany of before the war is not as apparent to Allied minds as to the propagandists.

In Allied opinion the right of peoples to dispose of themselves, now being stressed by the very people who at one time opposed the principle so strongly, does not mean that a people who have been freed on the promise to remain independent, may disregard the promise. Such legitimate restrictions as those which prevented the Belgian people in 1830 from joining France as they desired to do, must be felt here.

It is the belief of the Allies that Austria is competent to carry on an independent economic career, as well as Czechoslovakia, Switzerland or other inland countries. It is as firm a belief that the Union would constitute a menace to almost any and everyone, and particularly to the peace of Europe. As such, it is the *Revue's* earnest contention that no effort of the League of Nations, or of the governments of those countries of Europe directly opposing the union, should be too great. The *Revue* advocates that the best of precautions will always be a strong entente among the states who do not wish the federation—France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Poland.

Stepchildren of the Russian Revolution

A NEW class in society that did not exist before the Revolution of 1917, and which presents a problem as critical as any that the Soviet Government has to face, has sprung into being in Russia. This is the *bezprizorni* or "shelterless"—the army of street children, estimated to number 300,000, who belong to nobody, and whose only home is the street, the marketplace, or the railroad.

Mrs. Marcella Bartlett, a Russian who married an American newspaper man, has spent the past few years in the country of her birth studying the social, political, and economic aspects of life under the Communist régime. She reports on the outstanding problem presented by the *bezprizorni* in Asia (New York) for April.

In the terrible years of civil war and ensuing famine, the *bezprizorni* saw their parents, their nearest relatives, killed or starved to death. They often saw human life valued at less than a loaf of bread. They wandered for hundreds and hundreds of miles from village to city, city to village, in search of shelter, clothes, and food. . . . Not having food, they stole it. . . . At the age of ten, few of the *bezprizorni* remembered what a home or a bed meant, and most of them had already become acquainted with all the vices and crimes of the street. . . .

The Russian courts show an appalling record of adolescent crimes, steadily increasing as these thousands of children grow to man and womanhood in the streets. Stealing, gambling, and begging are their accredited professions, and they do not hesitate to do murder. With birthplaces all over the Soviet Union, often ignorant of their parentage, or knowing their families to be dead of famine or persecution, these waifs move across Russia in organized bands "like a dread scourge," says Mrs. Bartlett. They are filthy, dressed in rags, 98 per cent. of them wretchedly undernourished, addicted to drugs and alcohol. They travel

freely on the long-distance trains, descending at stations to forage in the marketplaces. They migrate like birds to the South in winter, and to the cities where there is less chance of starvation. In the cities the ranks of these children are greatly swelled by the so-called *beznadzorni*—the "unwatched"—whose parents are away from home all day, and who rapidly learn all the vices of the *bezprizorni* proper.

One way in which the Soviet government attempts to care for this malignant army is the maintenance of night-lodgings for the homeless—bare, dirty rooms with wooden beds where gangs collect by the hundreds at night to discuss the gains of the day, to plan, to smoke, drink and gamble. These gangs have leaders who act the part of the master-mind, who are implicitly obeyed, and who deal out discipline with fist and knife. The leaders, so says Mrs. Bartlett, are usually dealers in drugs, and addicts themselves.

Several doctors in charge of these *nochezka*, or night-lodgings, and of other children's homes, were consulted by Mrs. Bartlett in her investigation. One doctor had about five thousand children under his care—a not unusual case. He gave medical examinations as often as he could, and



STEPCHILDREN OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, WHOSE LIVES ARE MADE UP LARGELY OF GAMBLING AND THIEVING AND WHO MOVE FROM CITY TO CITY, SEEKING SHELTER, CLOTHES AND FOOD

attempted to segregate those having infectious diseases, but his work was necessarily insufficient.

Mrs. Bartlett quotes him as saying:

"Narcotic drugs are the greatest curse among these children. More than 65 per cent. of them are addicts. They acquire the drug habit on the street. For the past few years I have been interested in the study of this habit among children. In my various experiments I have found that they can be cured much more easily than can adults. But they must be surrounded with normal conditions of life. I have dealt with children who had taken narcotic drugs for two years, sometimes more. After six or eight months of regular living they have completely overcome the habit and do not show any desire for the drugs even when put for a time among children who take them. But of course we can save only a negligible per cent. of these children because we have no money."

Last year the Russian government spent 48,000,000 roubles (about \$24,000,000) on homeless children. This is half again the amount spent on high-school education and double the amount spent on agricultural improvements. It opened homes to keep the children alive, and established workshops and farms to teach them a trade. So far, because of insufficient funds and ill-trained personnel, it is officially admitted that this

work had failed rather notably. Of the 290,000 inmates of homes, only 3,000 are sent to the training schools, which are very scantily equipped and badly run. The homes are pitiable sights: there is little discipline, the sanitary conditions are indescribably bad, and the food is insufficient and badly prepared.

The government has this last year changed its policy. At present every attempt is made to keep the children with families—rather than to establish more homes—and to aid the families directly. If the children have no families, which is most often the case, every effort is made to encourage the peasants to adopt them—to take them away from the cities, and to give them regular work. Many privileges are offered to the peasant who will adopt a "homeless." For the children who still remain in the cities, the workshops are being increased in number and efficiency, and a law has been passed making it obligatory upon the Commissariat of Labor to place large numbers of children from the homes as apprentices in various shops and trades, the children's homes to pay for their upkeep during the period of apprenticeship.

South Africa's Color Bar Bill

"THERE are many thinking people in South Africa who are alarmed at the color segregation policy of the present government," says the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, writing of the Color Bar bill recently passed, which limits the labor activities of the natives, and particularly prohibits them from skilled labor. The bill was designed to protect the interests of the white workers, who are greatly in the minority, and to further the governmental policy of differential treatment, which is working toward the development by natives of native resources (agriculture) and securing the fullest industrial opportunities for Europeans. It is hoped that by keeping the natives out of industry they will be driven to the cultivation of the land, with beneficial results to the natives and the Union alike.

As the *Guardian* points out, however, the bill restricting the natives in industry precedes any bill granting them land and providing for its allotment. As the land is held at present largely by whites, who may or may not be willing to part with it in the

interests of the natives and the Union, this part of the program may prove long and difficult. However difficult says the *Guardian*:

It should precede the slamming of the industrial door. This bill will rightly be estimated by the native as a deprivation of rights he has enjoyed without any certainty of any sort of compensation.

Writing more particularly of the wretched case of the Indians in South Africa, who number some 170,000, Rebecca Hourwich in the *Independent* (Boston) for April 10 voices the same protest against the lack of pro-native and Indian legislation and the segregation policy, in an article which she feelingly entitles "Men Without a Country."

The rebellion of the Indians in South Africa under their great leader Gandhi in 1910, according to Miss Hourwich, has come to naught. In Natal, municipal franchise has recently been taken from the Indians, and their trading rights are being curtailed, while what little has been done by the English Government in segregating and granting land is largely abrogated by the Color Bar bill.

31. America's Position in Radio Communication

FOR many years, before the development of the radio, America had been dependent upon foreign governments for communication facilities. But in the past six years American private enterprise and initiative in the field of radio telegraphy have revolutionized the country's position, and it now has direct communication with most of the leading states of the world, says Gen. James G. Harbord in *Foreign Affairs* (New York).

The American radio-telegraphy system is comparable in extent to the British cable network which for the last half-century has given England predominance in the cable world. The British Government and British capital, anticipating the rôle which cable communication would play in the development of commerce and in times of war, have taken the lead in cable manufacture and operation. Although American-owned cable interests have made great efforts to extend their systems, especially to Central and South America, the West Indies and the Orient, it is scarcely possible to affect the supremacy of the British Empire, with its widely scattered colonies where leading stations can be so easily located.

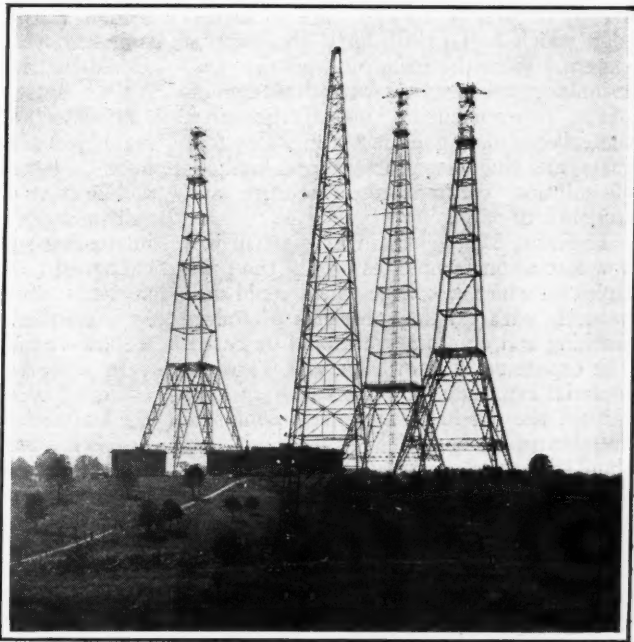
Since the World War America has come to acute realization of the importance of direct communication with foreign countries if she is to maintain her world market and with it her commercial and financial supremacy. These channels of communication must be direct, reliable, inexpensive, uncensored, free from foreign interference or intentional delay.

The first transatlantic radio circuit was initiated by the English Marconi Company in 1907, five years after Marconi sent his first famous SSS across the Atlantic. Much had still to be done, however, to render it commercially

useful, and it remained for Americans to invent the high-frequency alternator and the three-electrode vacuum tube which made a world-wide system of telegraphy possible. Great Britain and Germany have both initiated plans for wireless systems which would span the world. France has at present a plan by which she will have a system rendering direct communication at least with her colonies.

The American system, first suggested in 1916, was to extend to the Canal Zone, to Honolulu and the Philippines, to Central and South America. In 1919, the unification of all interests was effected, forming the Radio Corporation of America. Since then the number of countries with which the United States is in direct communication has increased from five to eleven, and four more will be added in the near future. As a result of radio competition, cable rates have been lowered and service improved.

Contrary to the policies of most foreign countries where communication systems



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THE RADIO STATION OF THE U. S. NAVY DEPARTMENT AT ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA

(The only wireless station in the United States that maintains six antennae for transmission at the same time. Four of the towers or masts appear in this picture)

are owned and operated by governments largely for military and political needs, the United States advocates a policy of private ownership and management subject to a reasonable governmental supervision. As any system of electrical communication open to the general public is a species of public utility, certain governmental privileges and protections are accorded it. The licensing in some way of the ether above the country, the protection of the limited number of ether channels for long-distance transmission which are available to any one country, the securing of the large amount of capital which must be put into the establishment of long-wave high-power stations by preventing uneconomical com-

petition is all a part of necessary governmental care if the future of the country's world system is to be unimpaired. All these things have to do with the protection of public interest, and the governmental policy is to leave all matters not in this province strictly alone.

General Harbord describes the present position of the United States in the matter as follows: The United States has the power to regulate privately owned electrical systems only "so as to assure fair remuneration and prevent extortion, to secure substantial equality in like cases, and promote safety, good order and convenience. But, broad as is the power of regulation, the State do not enjoy the freedom of an owner."

Remaking the College

FOUR years ago the *New Republic* (New York) issued a supplement devoted to the American college, which was mainly a discussion, by President Meiklejohn of Amherst and other college administrators and professors, of the expansion of knowledge which had called forth the elective system. With the issue of April 14, 1926, a similar supplement appears, which demonstrates to even cursory investigation that the colleges have gone fast and far in four years, and that new problems and methods of solution confront the faculties and students to-day.

Professor Meiklejohn in his part of this new discussion formulates briefly the principles on which a college which could deal properly with existing problems of college teaching and organization should be based. The expansion of knowledge and the rapid material expansion of our civilization have thrown the old institutions into confusion and disarrangement. The new organization should be small, a community of 250 students and twenty-five professors; its educational policy should be "liberal" in the educational sense of the word; the faculty should be a group of scholars doing the thinking on which our life as a people depends; lectures should be almost wholly abolished in favor of reading, conferences, and small discussion groups, where the student, not the teacher, does the work.

Both the philosophical, historical, literary and others arts and the social studies,

natural and physical sciences must be represented, with the first two years devoted to general, the last two to special study. An important secondary consideration is the location, remote enough to render the community necessarily self-sufficient. The college should be so endowed that it will not have to secure funds for at least fifteen years. Reform in administration Professor Meiklejohn also regards as of primary importance. It is his hope that some day such a college as this will be started as an experiment.

The supplement contains a series of interesting statements on such subjects as changes in college thinking, limitation of students, student criticism, the Rah Rah boy, culture, intercollegiate athletics, and a special article on football.

In an article entitled "The Changing College," Professor Ernest H. Wilkins of the University of Chicago outlines methods just being introduced to deal with the new complex situation in the college where "so much more is known, and there is so much more that we need to know." One method is the orientation course, a full-time course which essays to survey and link together the fundamental facts of life in its evolution and in its present human organization. Added to this course, already given in Columbia, Dartmouth, Amherst, which teaches the pupil to know his world, he must also be taught how to deal with it. It has always been a major aim of the college to

teach the student how to think. At Johns Hopkins there is a course called Introduction to College Work, at Columbia, one called Introduction to Reflective Thinking. It is Professor Wilkins's belief that eventually the first two years of college will be devoted to orientation, the last two to concentration. The beginning of this has come with the introduction of final examinations on the last two years' work in several colleges, and with the honors course in even more.

President Wilbur of Stanford University names the ten heads under which applicants in competitive entrance are judged. They are Scholarship, Personality, Industry, Judgment, Reliability, Initiative, Coöperation, Native Ability, Leadership, and Physical Vitality.

President MacCracken of Vassar points out that the widely variegated group of young people gathered in a college, have one thing in common. They are all students, although there has been very little consciousness of the bond, until of late.

Lacking this intellectual bond, and discouraged from creating it by paternalistic control, American college students have turned to the sidelines inevitably. . . . This was to be expected. What was not to be expected was the discovery through the extra-curriculum of their common interests as students and the gradual intellectualizing, *in spite of the faculty*, of the students' life.

Student associations organized student life, and insisted on assuming authority, they questioned and criticized the whole plan of the college. The greatest change has come with the realization by the faculty that they could utilize this new student life

as motive power in studying. The result has been a change in curriculum:

The curriculum beats with the life of youth. As soon as students began to find out that professors respected their thought and enthusiasm, they responded by confidence and coöperation. Professors have enjoyed the exhilarating experience of being asked questions on really important matters.

One of the most interesting articles is contributed by a student, Miss Katharine Pollak, of Vassar College, relating facts about the Student Curriculum Committee, a three-year-old organization, which is one of the strongest forces bringing about coöperation and understanding between faculty and students in the college to-day. The Committee is a permanent channel for student opinion, for discussion with the faculty of policies and methods. The Committee has been responsible for many scholastic reforms and new ventures. Another field of its work is reported by Miss Pollak as follows:

The students are not satisfied with merely presenting *opinions*. When they discovered that there were plenty of theories about college education, but that few facts were known, their training made them wish for a more scientific basis for college policy. Accordingly they devised means of obtaining information otherwise unavailable. Last year all the undergraduates were urged by the Student Curriculum Committee to keep track of how much time they spent on academic work, non-academic activities, and exercise. Over 500 students, almost half the college, kept such records daily for the whole semester, thus revealing a widespread desire on the part of the students to assist in the solution of educational problems. As a result of their efforts, the faculty have been supplied with figures showing how much time was spent on each course and they have already changed some of the regulations.

What Is Adult Education?

OF LATE years attention has been called again and again to the great field of providing vocational training and further liberal education to those persons who, for reasons of economic pressure usually, have not had such education as would help them derive the most out of life. During the past year, further impetus to the movement generally known as "adult education" has derived from the formation of a National Association, with plans for new methods to help those who wish further education, and for the instruction of the general public concerning the movement.

In the *Yale Review* (New Haven) for April, Mr. Frederick P. Keppel, president of the Carnegie Corporation, points out that the army of part-time or special students, working in correspondent courses, night schools, workers' education classes, Y. M. C. A.'s, varsity extensions and libraries, approximates in numbers the twenty-five million who are being formally educated. It is estimated, for example, that there are about five times as many adults pursuing some form of educational study as are registered as candidates for degrees in all the colleges and universities in the country.

Mr. Keppel stresses particularly the facts that so little is known of this great army of educational volunteers, and that so little has been done to bring about the proper balance in the work being done.

What Mr. Keppel calls adult education differs greatly from the old limited conception of it as work with the benighted, or the more strict interpretation of other educators to-day, who limit the field to the work of the non-vocational groups, excluding the correspondence schools, night schools, and similar organizations. Mr. Keppel includes it all, and points out the discrepancy that then appears between the quantity of vocational adult education and the education which teaches the art of living, as represented by university extension courses, the work of the American Library Association, and the like.

The facts Mr. Keppel presents are these:

In commercial correspondence schools, of which there are some three hundred and fifty, one million and a half students are registered yearly. The typical student is pictured as a young man of about twenty-six, with perhaps two years of high-school education, who realizes the handicap to the unskilled worker. The public night schools have about a million students, with a typical age of nineteen and a half, who have come to a belated conclusion that education pays.

One hundred and fifty thousand students are found in university extension work, usually feminine, aged about thirty. Another hundred thousand attend classes at Y. M. C. A.'s, and the workers' education classes carried on in connection with many industries attract thirty thousand. There are hundreds of thousands of agricultural students in various states and federal organizations; the art institutes and museums probably reach another hundred thousand.

Turning to the vital problem of what Mr. Keppel calls "balance" in these organizations, he says:

This whole vast movement has grown up outside our best educational traditions and leadership, and so without the guidance and control by which it might have profited. . . . *Our steps in the movement for adult education have been limited almost uniformly to those which will pay.* Even within the university organization itself this is true.

The result of this, as one would expect, is overwhelming emphasis on vocational courses—courses in which the student can see a quick return for his money. Mr. Kep-

pel estimates that anywhere from seventy-five to ninety-five per cent. of the work is confined to vocational courses. While he believes in vocational education—even more widespread than it is to-day—Mr. Keppel also believes that it should at best be only part of the educational program, and that educational opportunities should be given which prepare one for living as well as gaining a livelihood.

What nationally we lack the most, as I see it, is the habit—and in most communities the opportunity as well—of *consecutive* study in some subject for its own sake—history, literature, science, the fine arts, what you will—not to fill the pay envelope, directly or indirectly, but to develop in the student what experience has proved to be one of the most durable satisfactions of human life.

A symposium in a recent issue of the *Survey* (New York) aims to define the term "adult education" and its aim.

Miss Mary Ely, education secretary of the National League of Girls' Clubs, believes that the only true adult education teaches not vocations, but how to deal with life as a whole, the actual courses of study depending upon the needs and wishes of the group: literature, art, economics, politics, history, sociology, psychology, biology. Much the same fields as are covered by the American Library Association's extremely valuable and suggestive booklets, "Reading With a Purpose." Says Miss Ely:

And upon us, who are in the movement, the conviction grows that political democracy is, and must remain, a farce until education of this sort is both universal and life-long. That is why we should like to see it spread into every corner of our country and to have it recognized as a most essential element in our educational system.

This is the same plea made by Mr. Keppel at the conclusion of his article. Dean James E. Russell, of Teachers' College, Columbia University, sees the purpose of adult education as the inspiration to "grown-ups to be something more than they are now and to do their work better than they do it now."

Opinions are expressed in favor of a narrower definition of adult education that will repudiate the work of the frankly commercial vocational schools, and will stress the function of adult education as a help to self-realization. Among those contributing to the symposium are A. J. Muste, head of the Brookwood Labor College, E. C. Lindeman of the American Country Life Association, Prof. William Orton of Smith, and Prof. Amy Hewes of Mount Holyoke.

The most practical and concrete sum-

mary of the work for these non-vocational educators to do is this of Dean Russell's:

There is need of a clearing house for the collection and dissemination of information concerning the many fine things now being done in this country and abroad for the education of adults. Methods of teaching and ways of adult learning should be studied. Text-books and study guides written in non-technical language are a prime requisite.

Teachers who can divest themselves of the academic halo must be found and fitted for their jobs. The scope of our public schools and state institutions can be extended when their worth is appreciated. And back of all is the need of closer acquaintance with the man who is different and of more sympathy for his efforts to become a better American citizen. Whatever the cost, the investment will quickly redeem itself in dividends of social betterment.

The Washington Eight-Hour Agreement Takes Effect in Europe

AT THE first International Labor Conference held in Washington seven years ago under the auspices of the League of Nations the leading industrial states of Europe agreed to the adoption of an eight-hour day or forty-eight-hour week. Of the eight nations defined by the Geneva Labor office as the chief industrial states at the Conference (Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Italy, Japan and Canada) India alone has ratified the agreement unconditionally. Several smaller states, namely, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and Rumania, have done so, however.

Great Britain's position in the matter has differed necessarily from that of other European Powers in that the eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week, and other Trade Union measures, are already virtually the rule in the Kingdom. However, at her instigation a five-power Conference was called which met in London during the week of March 19, and did much to clarify the finer points of the Washington agreement and bring the whole matter nearer realization.

The English press is enthusiastic over the success of the Conference, by which Belgium, France, and Germany are practically committed to speedy ratification of the terms drawn up. The London *Morning Post* says:

Here we have already, by custom chiefly, a universal working week of either forty-eight hours or less. But some other countries, our competitors, where Trade Unionism is either less strong or has different ideals, persist in working longer hours.

And this is one of the reasons, although by no means the only reason, why in some of our industries we are being beaten in the great struggle for existence which is eternally being waged, in peace as in war, between nations as between individuals.

If these other nations would consent to an eight-hour day they would still be working longer than the hours imposed upon certain of our important industries by the power of our Trade Unions; but

there would at least be something approaching equalization.

The agreement reached at the Conference, according to the Manchester *Guardian*, permits the working week of forty-eight hours to be restricted within five days. Sunday working time "when required by the nature of the service" is given extra compensation, and a weekly rest day is safeguarded for these Sunday workers. Railways are included in the field covered by the agreement. Overtime pay and hours are to be regulated by law, and the total amount of overtime allowed to any one worker is limited.

One of the most discussed points finally determined upon is Article 14, which provides for suspension of the provisions of the Convention during times of crisis when "the existence of the life of the people was threatened." This does not include economic or commercial crises which concern only one branch of industry.

"Many observers cannot understand," says the *Guardian*, "why the workman seems to put his shorter working day above wages in his scale of values, not realizing how closely the demand for leisure is linked with his memory of struggle and his sense of self-respect." Not only as symbolic of the lessening of injustice and hardship, but as a direct influence for good in industrial conditions, the shorter working day is being hailed by laborers, those objectively interested in labor conditions, and far-sighted capitalists.

Mr. G. N. Barnes, moving spirit of the Convention, is quoted in *Public Opinion* for March 26th with regard to ratification:

Belgium will ratify without condition, France will ratify on condition that Germany does so, and Germany is willing if Belgium, France and Great Britain are. To get so large an area of Europe into the eight-hour orbit would be a big beginning in the way of improving the lot of the European worker.

Religion and the Instalment Plan

IT SEEMS a far cry from religious tolerance to the buying of small houses on the instalment plan, but Edward Rexford, writing in the April *Scribner's* (New York), believes that there is not only a connection, but that the latter is an important factor in modern life serving the cause of greater tolerance between bickering creeds.

The beginning of a spiritual awakening in the nation to-day is resulting, not from conscious effort along spiritual lines, explains Mr. Rexford, but as a by-product of the new commercial method known as instalment purchase. From this new extension of the public buying power, whole communities of little houses in semi-suburban districts have come into being almost overnight. The owners of these rows and rows of houses have not been restricted as to their religion by the agents who sold them—sometimes as many as fifteen denominations will be represented in a single community. This diversification usually means, says Mr. Rexford, that no one sect has numbers sufficient to support a separate church of its own, and therefore, through some central organization, such as the real estate office, the initial movement to have a church of their own is relinquished in favor of combining to build a community church.

A very good example of this portrays itself in the community church at Jackson Heights development just outside of New York City. Here the instalment plan has run to the ownership of apartments, enabling the man of lesser means to become part owner in the apartment house in which he resides, with the running expenses divided pro rata. There they boast a community church with twenty Protestant faiths worshiping together under one roof.

There are several such around New York, we are told; at least three near Chicago, the same in St. Louis, and two in Pittsburgh. An interesting development at the wealthy Watch Hill, Rhode Island, summer colony, is a church which serves Catholics for early mass, the combined Protestant faiths at eleven, and the negro servants in the afternoon.

Mr. Rexford points out that man has never before been able to combine several faiths under one roof for any length of time in harmony, simply because he did not see that it is economic conditions which control him, above considerations of free will or ideals.

Of course many of the people are merely putting up with these conditions until they can afford churches of their own, but, Mr. Rexford points out, they are overlooking the effect on their children, who are being raised under this system in a simple faith which has the good points of all. They are seeing that men of all faiths may have sound and worth-while ideas on religious subjects, and are sincere in their expression of them. In other words, these children reared in this environment bid fair to have a religious tolerance not encountered thus far in our religious world.

Another phase of instalment buying which has a hardly less direct connection with religion is the purchasing of motor-cars by persons who otherwise could not afford them. The automobile owner is free on Sundays to go as he pleases, and thus often evades the compulsion of public opinion and the influence of his church. He has a chance to work out a new system of religious values; his knowledge of other religions is broadened; his children probably never receive the narrow sectarian education he did.

In Canada, where small towns and villages predominate, Mr. Rexford believes that the automobile is one of the factors which has led to the combination of Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians. On the other hand, motor-buses now bring many persons from outlying districts regularly to church.

Another factor in broadening religious viewpoint is the radio: its audiences are avid for information, and take great interest in the various religious presentations on the air. This affects religion very directly, for the preacher can no longer prevent people from hearing the views of other ministers, and from learning that other religions seem as intelligent and sincere as his own.

These three factors, problematical as their future influence may be, tend certainly toward one end—greater understanding, and therefore greater tolerance between sects; clergymen who must preach constructively rather than merely to uphold their particular brand of religion and damn the next—a development of the understanding that religion is largely a matter of personal viewpoint, based on the thought of the best minds.

American Writers Aim To Shock Aunt Jane

THE assumption that revolt of any kind is favorable to the art of literature is the basis on which many modern novels find a place in the world. That a great number of American writers are distinguished chiefly by this spirit of revolt, and that it does not necessarily preclude genius, is pointed out by J. B. Priestley, a notable English critic, in the *May Forum* (New York).

Mr. Priestley states two facts which make him a suitable person to write on American literature. One is that he has never set foot in the United States, and is therefore not influenced by a "few weeks' unnatural life." That the impartiality so assured is not merely ignorance is his second point. He says that he has always deliberately kept as well-informed about contemporary American literature as he is in his own. And he protests that the attitude of mind behind his "impudent generalizations" is one of eager and friendly interest.

There has been for some time a vast stir in American literature, as if that immense pot were coming to a boil, he says. The product of the past is as nothing beside the colossal promise of the stir and heave and bubbling of the national genius to-day. As yet however, the literature which is being produced, while vivid, significant, alive, is nullified by a strain of weakness. This weakness he defines as caused by the dilemma of having to steer past the Scylla and Charybdis of crude acceptance and crude revolt.

Because the American nation, in order to bring into one people the heterogeneous mass of peoples of which it is composed, is imposing as far as it can, one standard of culture and civilization upon everyone, every fiery and eager soul in the country is in revolt. These young rebels pour out thousands of pages of derision against "hundred percenters," rich and heavy Uncles from the West, and the like. Their business is the shocking of these complacent peoples.

"This is the old trick of ragging the Philistines," says Mr. Priestley, "and it is very good fun, but it does not go far in literature."

A great deal of what we might call Greenwich villagery in art depends for its effect upon being supported by a full chorus of startled Philistines. Robbed of that support, it is plainly seen for what it is, a rather futile drawing-room trick. Those who practice it can boil their pots only with the heat of other people's disapproval.

These revolvers do not understand or interpret life, but merely turn existing standards upside down. Thus the despised majority still control the thought of these intelligentsia, for whatever they say the revolter is compelled to unsay.

The mental atmosphere remains much the same. People are really moving on the same level only they have gone from one side to the other. . . . It is preposterous to see in H. G. Wells a dangerous lunatic, but it is equally preposterous to see in him a great thinker.

One can get things done by this attitude of revolt; it is the breath of social reform; but it is doubtful if it is the right atmosphere for the wise, humane, tolerant, kindly, pitiful attitude of mind which produces great literature.

And yet, with it all, Mr. Priestley believes that there is more genuine artistic leaven in American literature than there is in any other contemporary national literature:

Once through this tangle of crude acceptance or crude revolt, of ragging on the one hand, or hard fanatical rebellion on the other, of the overemphasis of background and the neglect of the individual, once through this tangle as Willa Cather or Hergesheimer (here and there) and Sinclair Lewis (in one book) to name no others, have come through, the triumph of the American novelists is all the greater. And my excuse for indulging in this impudent orgy of good advice is not any assumption on my part of superior literary wisdom, but first, as I indicated when I began, my keen interest in the whole matter, and second, my position as an outside spectator of the whole field, for in this affair of writing fiction, as in so many others, perhaps the onlooker sees most of the game.



SUGGESTIONS FOR HISTORICAL READING

AT a time when the facts of our country's past are being brought before the readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS in so many different ways, it seems appropriate to include a list of historical fiction which might constitute a "gilded pill" for searchers after historical information and atmosphere. Many of these novels appeared before the days of THE REVIEW, many of them have received notice in its pages, some have seemed to fall outside of its sphere. It may be worth while, therefore, to assemble these hundred or more titles of books which have all been given a dual test for literary worth and for appreciable historical contribution.

Pre-Revolutionary Days

The many stories of the bluff old soldier who was afraid of a girl are popular mediums for telling much of the early history of Plymouth colony. Of these Mrs. J. G. Austin's "Standish of Standish" is probably the best. "The Bay Path," by J. G. Holland, written in 1857, is a serene and pleasant story of the early Connecticut Valley. "The Refugees," by A. Conan Doyle, chronicles in exciting fashion the Indian wars of 1676. "The Scarlet Letter," by Nathaniel Hawthorne, pictures the stern life of Puritan New England, and is one of the great moral tragedies of fiction. Included for its vivid portrayal of witch trials and the savage crusade of Cotton Mather in Salem and Boston is Amelia Barr's "Black Shilling." For a later period are Hawthorne's "Twice Told Tales" and "Mosses from an Old Manse," Zane Grey's "Betty Zane," and Mary E. Wilkins' book of short stories, "Silence."

When Washington Irving began his "Knickerbocker's History of New York" it was meant as a parody of all pretentious and dull histories, but it ended up as a delightful medley which pictures New York from the earliest days to 1809, when it was published. His "Sketch Book" is no less a fund of local incident, legend, and custom.

Ford Madox Hueffer has chronicled Hudson's voyage in "The Half-Moon." For the period about thirty years later (1640) one should read Jessie Belden's charming "Antonia." Amelia Barr's "A Maid of Old New York" covers a slightly later period, about the same as Cooper's little known "Satanstoe."

For the reader who is interested in the history of the South are John Esten Cooke's numerous books, ranging from 1640 through the Civil War. They are excellent romances and historically sound. Mary Johnston has several too, highly colored but accurate, of which "To Have and To Hold" is perhaps the most famous. John Buchan's "Salute to Adventurers" and Masefield's "Lost Endeavor" are two tales of high adventure written by artists. Perhaps the best of Gilmore Simm's books is "The Yemassee," a story of Indian warfare in Carolina. One of the greatest books for the period, up to and including the Revolution, is Thackeray's "The Virginians."

Mrs. Hugh Fraser has made a careful study of George Washington's mother in "In the Shadow of the Lord," which helps one to a realization of the early environment and training of young George.

The French and Indian War and the Revolution

Cooper's famous series, the "Leatherstocking Tales," concern themselves chiefly with the period of the French and Indian War (1756-60). "Seats of the Mighty," one of Sir Gilbert Parker's excellent stories, is also of this time.

The next war, the Revolution, is the scene of innumerable novels, of which only a few, however, demand attention. First comes a story of the Boston Tea Party, "The Colonials," by Allen French. Then, for the war proper, one could do better than Harold Frederick's "In The Valley," Dr. Weir Mitchell's two books, "A Venture in 1777," and his American classic, "Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker." "Janice

Meredith," by P. L. Ford, centers around New York; "Richard Carvel," by Winston Churchill, is a Maryland story. "Drums," by James Boyd, is a recent novel of fine scholarship and beautiful craftsmanship. Cooper's "The Spy" is a thrilling story based on first hand information from war-survivors in Westchester where Cooper himself knew every foot of the ground. "The Conqueror," by Gertrude Atherton, is a splendid life of Alexander Hamilton (1757 to 1804).

The exploits of Paul Jones are put to the use of the romancer in Cooper's "Pilot," Dumas' "Captain Paul," and Sarah Orme Wilson's "Tory Lover."

After the Revolution, and before the Civil War was thought of, was a busy period of growth chronicled variously in "Philip Nolan's Friends," by Edward Everett Hale, and his "Man Without a Country," Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Old Town Folks," "The Kentucky Cardinal," by James Lane Allen, "The Blithedale Romance," by Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Conrad's "Romance," written with Ford Madox Hueffer.

The Westward Movement

The Westward expansion at this time is told in Churchill's "The Crossing"; Washington Irving tried his hand at a pioneer tale of the Far West in "Astoria"; Davy Crockett and Daniel Boone are vividly drawn by J. T. Moore and Stewart E. White in "Hearts of Hickory" and "Daniel Boone, Wilderness Scout," respectively. Edward Eggleston made such a success of his story of early days in Indiana ("The Hoosier Schoolmaster") that it was soon followed by several others. Harry Leon Wilson, whom we know more for his humor than his historical fiction, has written a powerful Mormon story called "Lions of the Lord," dealing with the period of 1840-47. Stewart E. White's "Blazed Trail" is about Michigan woods.

Enough has been said this past fall in THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS about Honoré Wilson's "We Must March," the story of the winning of Oregon, to demonstrate our belief that it should stand prominently on such a list as this. Gertrude Atherton's "Splendid Idle Forties" is perhaps the best of many California novels for 1840-47, and is admirably sequestered by Gordon Young's "Days of '49."

With the first rumblings of Civil War, Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" ap-

peared, and was an important item in anti-slavery propaganda in the North. Winston Churchill's "The Crisis" also deals with the early period. Upton Sinclair's "Manassas," while a recent book, is a psychological study of the causes of the war, in story form. War novels proper include one of John Esten Cooke's with Jackson for hero, Mary Johnston's "The Long Roll," John Fox's "Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come," a book of short stories by Harold Frederick, F. T. Hill's "On the Trail of Grant and Lee," Stephen Crane's famous "Red Badge of Courage" and his "Little Regiment," S. Weir Mitchell's "A Diplomatic Adventure," of our relations with France, and Mary S. Andrews' "Perfect Tribute." For the end of the war is Ellen Glasgow's "Battle-ground," and T. N. Page's "The Burial of the Guns."

From the Civil War to the Present

A few of the many novels dealing with the reconstruction period are Miss Glasgow's "Voice of the People," Owen Johnson's "Arrows of the Almighty," Thomas Dixon, Jr.'s three novels, and Albion W. Tourgée's three, "The Fool's Errand," which had probably as great a sale as "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "Bricks Without Straw," and "Invisible Empire."

The expansion westward at this time brought forth many novels portraying the Indian. "Ramona," by Mrs. Jackson, and Owen Wister's "Red Men and White" are two of the best of these. Owen Wister's "The Virginian" is a tale of a Wyoming cattle-ranch. Zane Grey's "Riders of the Purple Sage" gives an accurate picture of the Mormons of 1870-80. Hamlin Garland's "Moccasin Ranch" is a tale of the Dakotas. Also, we must not forget Mark Twain's "Life on the Mississippi."

In the meantime life in the East was growing continually more complicated. Churchill's "Coniston," William Allen White's "A Certain Rich Man," Henry Adams' story of Washington political society, ironically called "Democracy," Mrs. Wharton's "Age of Innocence" and other New York stories, for New England, her "Ethan Frome" and W. D. Howells' "Rise of Silas Lapham"; for Chicago, Frank Norris' two books on the "Epic of Wheat" and Will Payne's "Mr. Salt" on the Panic of '93; and for the Spanish-American War, Stephen Crane's "Wounds in the Rain" and John Fox's "Crittenden."

THE NEW BOOKS

History, Chiefly American

The Pageant of America. New Haven: Yale University Press. Vol. I.—Adventures in the Wilderness. By Clark Wissler, Constance Lindsay Skinner, William Wood. 369 pp. Ill. Vol. III.—Toilers of Land and Sea. By Ralph Henry Gabriel. 340 pp. Ill.

It is fitting that this pictorial history of the United States should appear in the sesqui-centennial year of American independence. It is, in truth, a picture record of the whole story of America from the earliest explorations of European adventurers to the present day. For the past five years the Yale University Press has been engaged in making by far the most elaborate collection of pictures of every kind having a bearing on American history which has ever been attempted. Some of this material was utilized in the production of films which have been exhibited throughout the country. But the printed pages of "The Pageant of America" give us the first concrete notion of the range and extent of the collection. Of the two volumes thus far issued, the first, devoted to "Adventures in the Wilderness," exhibits perhaps the greater wealth of newly discovered and re-discovered depictions of the most noteworthy events in the period of exploration. But Volume III.—"Toilers of Land and Sea"—is just as truly a part of "The Pageant of America," assembling as it does

the evidences of the farmers' conquest of the Continent. These victories of peace have their dramatic aspects, and they are presented with fidelity by a great number of contemporary artists. The entire series of fifteen volumes comprising "The Pageant of America" will contain reproductions of more than 10,000 historical paintings, engravings, maps and other illustrations. In each volume there are about 700 of these striking and unusual pictures.

History of North Carolina. By Samuel A'Court Ashe. Vol. II. Raleigh, N. C.: Edwards and Broughton. 1449 pp. Ill.

The present volume deals with the History of North Carolina from the end of the Revolutionary War to the present year—a period of 143 years. In 1908 Captain Ashe published the first volume of this monumental work, which began with the period of discovery and exploration and ended with the completion of the Revolutionary War. Thus we have in these two volumes an exceptionally thorough narrative study of one of our great commonwealths, extending over nearly three and a half centuries. The author has been a devoted student of history for many years, and the present volume is the crowning achievement of a lifetime of notable service to his State. By the use of thin paper it has been found possible to include almost 1500 pages in a single volume that is clearly printed and not too

bulky for convenient use. This means simply that Captain Ashe has been able to give adequate treatment to great epochs and movements, such as those of the first half of the nineteenth century, the economic and political conditions that led to civil strife, events of the Civil War time, the period of Reconstruction following the war, and the progress that has been made during the present generation. It is a felicitous circumstance that this contribution to the annals of American life appears in the sesqui-centennial year of American independence. Again we have an illustration of the fact that a man of wisdom and judgment who has lived long and observed much has qualifications for the writing of history that no young student, however brilliant, can possibly have acquired. Captain Ashe, who is in his eighty-sixth year, has been doing for North Carolina just what Dr. Folwell has been doing for Minnesota, in his four-volume history of that State. Dr. Folwell is now in his ninety-fourth year, and has, therefore, had eight years more experience of life than his North Carolina contemporary. Captain Ashe was a graduate of the United States Naval

Resolved That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

That it is essential for the safety and the good of the Colonies to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign alliances

That a plan of confederation be proposed and transmitted to the respective Colonies for their consideration and approbation.

From "The Pageant of America"

THE ORIGINAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

(Virginia's delegation to the Continental Congress, assembled at Philadelphia, was instructed to propose the independence of the American colonies. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, as spokesman for Virginia, offered this resolution. After some unavoidable delay, the Congress debated Lee's resolution on July 1 and 2, and adopted it on the afternoon of the second day. A committee of five members was charged with drawing up the formal Declaration, and of that committee Thomas Jefferson was chairman)

Academy, and became a Confederate officer in the Civil War, while Colonel Folwell was serving as an officer in the Union Army. Captain Ashe became a lawyer, held various public offices, and edited the *Raleigh News and Observer* for a period of fifteen years. His interpretations are broad-minded and generous, are free from sectional bitterness, and are lifted far above the pettiness of the mere delver in parochial records.

The Story of Durham, City of the New South. By William Kenneth Boyd. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 345 pp. Ill.

With the great development of Trinity College at Durham, North Carolina—so rapidly expanding as Duke University absorbs it—the history of the community in which it is placed may well have a fresh interest. Dr. William Kenneth Boyd, professor of history in Duke University, has written the "Story of Durham," making it a study of a typical Southern community. This includes the history of the tobacco industry in so far as the Duke family were concerned with it, and all the various activities, past and present, of a growing center of educational, economic, and social activity.

Proceedings of the Semi-Centennial of Vanderbilt University. Nashville, Tenn: Vanderbilt University. 331 pp. Ill.

Vanderbilt University, at Nashville, Tennessee, celebrated its semi-centennial last October, with proceedings that included a four-day program of unusually important addresses and exercises. Especially notable were the historical retrospect presented by Chancellor James H. Kirkland and the survey of a half century of Southern education by President Blackwell of Randolph-Macon College, Virginia. Distinguished scholars presented papers on various educational and scientific subjects, and notably upon the achievements of research in medicine. These are all included in a volume that should have its place in every library that is concerned with the history of American education.

The Story of Alexander Brown & Sons. By Frank R. Kent. (Issued on the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Foundation of the House, December 19, 1800.) Baltimore. 215 pp. Ill.

Last year the well-known banking house of Alexander Brown & Sons at Baltimore celebrated the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding. That occasion was further commemorated by the publication of a historical record of the house, compiled by Frank R. Kent, of the Baltimore *Sun*. The descendants of that first Alexander Brown, who founded the Baltimore business in 1800, are still actively directing the several banks located by him in London, Philadelphia, and New York as well as the parent institution in Baltimore. Mr. Kent gathered the material of his interesting story from old letter books and ledgers, dating back to 1800, and now in the vaults of Alexander Brown & Sons. Incorporated in the text are several heretofore unpublished letters touching upon the Napoleonic Wars, the fight for the United States Bank, the War of 1812, attacks upon Baltimore and Washington by the British in 1814, the Civil War and other historic episodes. The book is printed, from type especially cast for the purpose, upon rag paper, and is most tastefully illustrated.

The Liberty Bell: Its History and Significance. By Victor Rosewater. Appleton. 246 pp. Ill.

For generations of Americans the famous Liberty Bell at Philadelphia has symbolized, as has no other relic, the sentiment of national independence. The prophetic inscription upon the bronze metal, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," has seemed to set it apart in a peculiar way as the mouthpiece of the "Spirit of '76." In 1876, when the Centennial Exposition was held at Philadelphia, the bell was seen by hundreds of thousands of visitors, and in after years it made several extended journeys, notably the one to Chicago in 1893. During the coming summer it will be seen by thousands of pilgrims to Philadelphia. Mr. Rosewater has found it well worth while to get together all the available facts concerning the bell and weave them into a readable and entertaining narrative.

Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest. By Grant Foreman. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 349 pp. Ill.

This book has to do especially with the region now comprised in the States of Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri, Arkansas, New Mexico, Colorado and Kansas. The author, an Oklahoma attorney, has long been a student of Southwestern history. His researches have been made in the Congressional Library at Washington, the old court files of St. Louis, old tribal records in the Indian office at Muskogee, and the archives of the various States concerned. Much of the material was gleaned by Mr. Foreman from manuscripts and has never before been published. The book throws new light on the early border life and the personalities of the explorers and traders who were identified with the first settlements in the Southwest.

Our Times: The United States—1900-1925. I: The Turn of the Century—1900-1904. By Mark Sullivan. Charles Scribner's Sons. 610 pp. Illustrated.

A journalist's graphic survey of American politics and social life in the opening years of the Twentieth Century. For many of us those years form a well-remembered part of "Our Own Times." The reading of Mr. Sullivan's account takes us back even into our own past. His book is useful also in focusing our attention on some of the great scientific and mechanical developments of that period. If this is the first of a series of volumes (as we hope it is), we shall all be interested in following Mr. Sullivan's story of the Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson administrations.

A History of England: From the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth. By Edward P. Cheyney. Longmans, Green, and Company. In two volumes. Vol. II. 589 pp.

The period in English history covered by this volume of Professor Cheyney's work was full of dramatic interest, but it has especial importance for students of American history in so far as it discloses the origin and growth of institutions which were in later years to play a great part in the development of the American Colonies. The story of Elizabeth's reign has been studied to good purpose by Professor Cheyney.

Babylonian Life and History. By Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. Fleming H. Revell Company. 296 pp. Ill.

A standard, popular work by one of the greatest living authorities on Assyriology. It covers the Babylonian story from the earliest known times down to the present day. Recent discoveries have made many revelations which are incorporated in the text.

Israel and Babylon. By W. Lansdell Wardle. Fleming H. Revell Company. 343 pp.

This book discusses questions of Babylonian influence on the stories of creation and the deluge, the Hebrew law codes, and institutions like the Sabbath. Dr. Wardle is convinced that the Biblical story of creation is not in any sense a version of the Babylonian myth. He also differentiates sharply between Israel's monotheism and Babylon's.

World Movements

Latin America and the War. By Percy Alvin Martin. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 582 pp.

Few of us have very definite knowledge about the parts taken by the various Latin-American republics in the Great War. We may easily learn from the books of reference that eight of those republics actually declared war, that five others severed relations with Germany and that seven, including Argentina and Chile, which are among the strongest of the South American nations, remained neutral. This, however, is only a part of the story. Every one of the twenty republics, large and small, was in some way vitally affected by the war. This book, which is based upon lectures by Professor Martin, of Stanford University, on the Albert Shaw Foundation at Johns Hopkins, gives the only complete account of the diplomatic relations of the Latin-American republics as they were affected by the war. It would be impossible for any one to get hold of the facts presented in this survey without an immense amount of research in widely separated places. The task has been most skilfully accomplished by Professor Martin. In addition, his book has a great body of information about the economic contributions to the war made by all the republics, the neutrals included. The nitrate industry, for example, in which Chile had so great an interest, seemed at one time likely to turn the scales against the Allies. Professor Martin has made one of the most interesting of recent contributions to the literature of the war.

The Origin of the Next War: a Study in the Tensions of the Modern World. By John Bakeless. The Viking Press. 318 pp.

Mr. Bakeless has drawn a vivid and startling parallel between the group of present-day world problems of dissatisfied races, of over-population, of commercial expansion and of military strategy and the series of events that led up to the Great War. Mr. Bakeless does not, indeed, attempt to set any date for the coming of another war, nor does he even assert that such a war must come at all. He merely points to the striking similarity of war-producing forces as they were in operation before 1914 and as they have been discerned by many observers since 1918.

Europe and the East. By Norman Dwight Harris. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 677 pp.

The Professor of International Law and Diplomacy in Northwestern University gives in this book

a condensed account of the foreign relations of Asiatic states in recent times and of the intervention of European powers in their affairs. It is the first attempt to cover this great field within the compass of a single volume. In some parts of the Orient political affairs are decidedly in a state of transition, but the author has made every effort to bring his narrative up to date, and with the exceptions of China and Persia he has managed to tell a complete and fairly well-rounded story.

China: an Analysis. By Frank J. Goodnow. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 279 pp.

President Goodnow, of Johns Hopkins University, was the legal adviser of the Chinese Republic and lived in Peking during parts of the years 1913 and 1914. His interest in Chinese affairs, which was greatly stimulated at that time and which continued after he returned to America, led President Goodnow to formulate certain impressions and conclusions. These were set forth in a series of Lowell Institute Lectures at Boston, which formed the foundations of this book. President Goodnow pictures Chinese life against a European background. The contrast thus presented should help the reader to a clearer understanding of the Chinese problem.

The American Year Book: a Record of Events and Progress—Year 1925. Editor, Albert Bushnell Hart. Associate Editor, William M. Schuyler. Macmillan. 1158 pp.

Every annual publication of this kind offers a shortcut to a body of facts which anyone may have occasion to explore at any time. It is a boon to the student, the professional man, the writer and the editor to have at his elbow a compendium of events for each calendar year. When the "American Year Book" ceased publication some years ago it was a matter of general regret. We are glad to be able to announce the resumption of the series with the appearance of a volume covering the year 1925. This book contains a classified study of the national, State and local governments, showing what changes have been made in constitutions and important laws. The principal legal problems of the year are assigned to a special section. Public finance, banking, labor, agriculture, manufactures are among the topics to which special chapters are allotted. Moreover, the editors by no means ignore the social and intellectual advance made by the nation in 1925. The book is still under the able editorship of Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard. Mr. William M. Schuyler is Associate Editor.

Biography and Memoirs

Life and Letters of Thomas Jefferson. By Francis W. Hirst. Macmillan. 588 pp.

As we approach the sesqui-centennial of the writing of the Declaration of Independence by Thomas Jefferson, there comes from the press a new appreciation of Jefferson from the pen of an English publicist. Mr. Francis Hirst has been interested especially in Jefferson as a man of peace, the enemy of public extravagance, and a contributor to the political and economic theory of his day. He has made his selections from Jefferson's letters and writings, and especially from some that are now for the first time available, with a view to their bearing on the problems of the Europe and the America of to-day. His book will make known the teachings of Jefferson to great numbers of present-day admirers on both sides of the Atlantic.

John Slidell. By Louis Martin Sears. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 252 pp.

We think of John Slidell to-day as the associate of Mason in a certain capture on the high seas which caused a crisis in the relations between Great Britain and the United States. Of him it has generally been forgotten that he was born and grew up in New York City, and that after his removal to New Orleans and his service as Representative and

Senator he had much to do in procuring the nomination and election of Buchanan as President. Professor Sears tells all these facts and gives an account of Slidell's diplomatic activities at Paris, where he represented the Southern Confederacy and continued to reside until the war in 1870 made him a refugee in Great Britain.

The Letters of Bret Harte. Assembled and Edited by Geoffrey Bret Harte. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 515 pp.

These letters of Bret Harte, the American novelist, who spent his latter years abroad, tell the full story of his life as it has never been told before. Written as they were, with no thought of publication, it must be added that they deal with many matters in which the public has no concern.

Melodies and Memories. By Nellie Melba. George H. Doran Company. 339 pp. Ill.

Among the great musicians of her time Madam Melba has the unusual distinction of having been born and reared in Australia. The story of her early studies and rapid rise to fame and fortune as the leading prima donna of her day, is told in her own frank and inimitable way.

Essays: Psychology

Intellectual Vagabondage: an Apology for the Intelligentsia. By Floyd Dell. George Doran. 261 pp.

Mr. Dell writes in entertaining, lucid, and thoughtful fashion first of certain attitudes of eighteenth and nineteenth century intellectuals towards life as exemplified in their literatures, and then at greater length of the attitude of a corresponding class of persons who are his own contemporaries, and whose literature also exemplifies an attitude. According to Mr. Dell this generation of "intelligent, sensitive, and more or less creative young people," like any other generation past or future, want to live a life, to read and write a literature peculiarly suited to their own needs;—one which "will help them to love generously, to work honestly, to think clearly, to fight bravely, to live nobly. . . . These may seem queer words for one of this vagabond generation of intelligentsia to use without a smile. But let them stand. We are having our day and making use of it as we can."

Essays of 1925. Selected with an introduction by Odell Shepard. Hartford: Edwin Valentine Mitchell. 281 pp.

An interesting contribution to the year's annuals is this collection of essays which appeared during the year in popular magazines and might otherwise have disappeared in oblivion during the next year. Mr. Shepard's twenty-five authors include many of our most distinguished essayists,—among them Senator James Reed, Heywood Broun, Ernest

Boyd, Alexander Black, Edgar Lee Masters, Bruce Bliven, and Robert Haven Schaufler. Perhaps the quality which lends lasting value to the collection is that the subject matters aim to represent the particular preoccupations and problems of the year to which they belong. There are essays on religion, war and peace, politics (including Bryan), tolerance, education, censorship, Americanism, the American language, drama, and morals, parents and the younger generation, the football hero, love, dogs, towns, and a few of the character sketches lacking which no essay-collection is ever complete.

Psychology and Its Use. By Everett Dean Martin. Chicago: American Library Association. 47 pp.

Philosophy. By Alexander Meiklejohn. Chicago: American Library Association. 51 pp.

In publishing the "Reading with a Purpose" series, the American Library Association is doing much to further its own work and the work of others with adults and young people out of school who wish to follow a course of study. Each booklet in the series comprises an introduction to some field of study and a guide to the best books on the subject, and is written by someone not only well-versed in the material, but capable of presenting it in interesting fashion. Some of the subjects already presented are biology, literature, history, music, sociology, psychology, and philosophy, with others, such as economics, physical science and mental hygiene in preparation.

Mr. Martin, author of the booklet on Psychology, is a leader in adult education, the head of the People's Institute and lecturer on social psychology. He tells simply what psychology is, and what it may teach us about ourselves and the world about us. He particularly points out its present limits.

Alexander Meiklejohn's approach to the study of philosophy is summed up by his statement "If you want to understand philosophy we can tell you where to go but we cannot go for you." His material is stimulating, suggestive, and welcomes controversy. Both books name and comment on a half-dozen books which will help the student on his way.

A Naturalist of Souls: Studies in Psychography. By Gamaliel Bradford. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 368 pp.

Mr. Bradford's collection of biographical studies under this title was first published nine years ago. The new edition contains chapters on "Walter Pater," "A French Lamb" and "A Gentleman of Athens." Besides these new sketches, there is a foreword on the art of psychography which is especially welcome since it comes from the pen of the foremost practitioner of that art in this country. Mr. Bradford's studies have covered a wide range of personality and character. They seem to become more vivid and intense as the artist grows more adept in his art.

Fundamental Christianity. By Francis L. Patton. Macmillan. 334 pp.

This book is in substance an expansion of five lectures delivered by the former president of Princeton two years ago on the James Sprunt Foundation in Union Theological Seminary at Richmond, Virginia. The personal form of address is retained and the chief purpose of the book is to meet the needs of ministers and laymen in various churches "who by reason of contemporary controversy feel called upon to consider anew the meaning of Christianity." It should be said, however, that the phrase "Fundamental Christianity," as employed by Dr. Patton, has a broader meaning than is usually conveyed by the current designation of "Fundamentalist." Dr. Patton ranks as a conservative, but few will charge him with narrowness.

Do Fundamentalists Play Fair? By W. M. Forrest. Macmillan. 125 pp.

In this little book Dr. Forrest challenges not so much the conclusions of Fundamentalists as the mental processes by which those conclusions are reached. Whatever the conservative theologians may think of Dr. Forrest's reasoning, he cannot be accused of any lack of candor. He is fearless and frank in his statement of the issues in current theological discussions.

Economics and Public Affairs

Incentives in the New Industrial Order. By J. A. Hobson. Thomas Seltzer. 160 pp.

All who have at times been puzzled by the question whether the public ownership of essential industries would do away with incentives to production and distribution, will have reason to thank the great English economist, Mr. Hobson, for his clear analysis of the elements involved in this question. Examining these incentives, both from the producing and the consuming side, Mr. Hobson suggests ways by which they might be retained and even stimulated.

Investment. By Hastings Lyon. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 602 pp.

One may be helped in the making of wise investments by gaining a clear comprehension of the facts that have a bearing on the problem of the moment, and that is the kind of help that is offered by Mr. Lyon in this book. He approaches the subject from the varied standpoints of economics, business practice, engineering, law and accounting. Mr. Lyon is lecturer on finance in the School of Business of Columbia University, has spent over six years at work in investment banking houses, and has been a member of the bar for over twenty years.

The Interest Standard of Currency. By Ernst Dick. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 286 pp.

An interesting discussion of the schemes for the stabilization of the currency, proposed by such writers as Professor Irving Fisher and Professor Keynes, by an author who sets forth a new financial

principle calculated to revolutionize the present theories of currency and value.

The Investigation of Business Problems: Technique and Procedure. By J. Eigelbner. Chicago: A. W. Shaw Company. 335 pp.

Such a book as this might perhaps never have been written had it not been for the pioneer work done by Frederick W. Taylor in applying scientific methods to the study of business activities. The author is a consulting industrial engineer who has had to direct the researches of men engaged in his field of effort.

Lectures on Legal Topics: 1921-1922. By James N. Rosenberg et al. Macmillan. 390 pp.

A series of addresses delivered at the instance of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York to audiences drawn largely from the practising lawyers of the city. Several of these lectures have more than a professional or technical interest— notably the appreciation of Chancellor James Kent, by Hampton L. Carson.

Law Reform: Papers and Addresses by a Practising Lawyer. By Henry W. Taft. Macmillan. 265 pp.

Mr. Taft has long been known as an advocate of various reforms in the practice of the law. These are illustrated in the essays and addresses brought together in this volume which Mr. Taft prefaces with an introductory essay on "Some Aspects of Law Reform in England and the United States."